

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Thousands join Attica protests



March protesting Attica massacre in Harlem Sept. 18, 1971. Articles about Attica and prison revolts, pages 10-15.

Photo by Candida McCollam

Hugo Blanco deported to Mexico

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BLACK INMATE SUES PRISON OFFICIALS AT FEDERAL PEN IN TEXAS: Walter Collins, a Black draft resister serving a five-year sentence at the federal prison in Texarkana, Texas, filed suit Sept. 14 against Warden L.M. Connett and Education Supervisor William C. Storm for refusing to allow him to receive certain books, to mail some of his letters or to receive visits from Carl Braden. Collins was a co-worker of Braden's in the Southern Conference Educational Fund before he was jailed by a racist court decision refusing to recognize that Collins' draft board was illegally constituted. Exactly the opposite ruling had been made by the same court in a parallel case involving a white draft resister a short time earlier.

"JUSTICE" DEPT. MOVES TO ROLL BACK PRISONERS' RIGHTS: On Sept. 14, the day after the bloodbath at Attica ordered by Rockefeller, Nixon's Department of Justice proposed revamping current laws governing prisoners' rights to appeal their convictions. The change proposed by Assistant Attorney General William Rehnquist at a Senate hearing would bar a prisoner from continuing to seek a reversal of conviction on the basis of new court rulings—except those dealing with confessions or tainted evidence. This legal stooge for Nixon offered as the reason for seeking such a major rollback of prisoners' rights that it would "more effectively screen out genuinely serious constitutional violations from the mass of frivolous and technical petitions now filed." To further demonstrate his belief that putting people in cages is a subject of frivolity, Rehnquist offered to swap enactment of this change by the Senate for the administration's support to Senator Sam Ervin's (D-N.C.) so-called "speedy trial bill." Ervin's bill offers a token concession to the plight of the thousands of men and women kept in jail for months and even years awaiting trial.

AIR FORCE PERMITS ANTIWAR OFFICERS TO RESIGN—IF . . . An Air Force regulation, issued in August and reported in the Sept. 1 *Air Force Times*, permits antiwar officers to resign from the service. In order to qualify, an officer must sign a statement that he is resigning "because he is convinced that his performance or attitude will result in deterioration in mission effectiveness, and that his unalterable convictions preclude rehabilitation." Such a statement must also be verified and endorsed by the officer's commander. In a related development, a letter made public by the American Civil Liberties Union, from staff counsel Joel M. Gora to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird complains of an Air Force practice requiring ROTC and service academy officers who seek C.O. discharges, and presumably non-C.O. antiwar officers, to pay back the government for the cost of their schooling. Gora's letter makes clear that the ACLU is prepared to take court action if the practice does not cease.

UNDERGROUND FILM FROM SOVIET UNION: A film produced in Moscow by opponents of the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime has made its way to Western Europe, according to the Sept. 15 *Washington Post*. An article by Richard Reston, datelined London, reports that William Cole of CBS "is processing the film for possible viewing in the United States." It is not indicated what "processing" means, but Reston's description of the contents suggests that it may mean editing away the film's political line. One sequence in the film is an appeal by the wife of Pytor Grigorenko. Grigorenko is being brutally mistreated in a mental hospital where he is imprisoned for his opposition to Stalinism. Reston describes Grigorenko as a "long-time civil rights leader," but in fact the call repeated by the revolutionary Soviet military hero, for which he was confined to the hospital, is the call for a return to the workers democracy of Lenin's time. The capitalist media is always pleased to be able to point to the lack of political freedom in the bureaucratized workers states, but in doing so it is usually careful to conceal the fact that the masses of people in these countries remain loyal to the planned economy, that the freedom they seek is the genuine freedom of a revolutionary democracy, that they have no interest in restoring capitalism.

GAY FIGHTS DISCHARGE BY NAVY: Without challenging his defense attorney's claim that Navy dentalman Ronald Stinson had the record of a "good to exemplary seaman," an administrative board voted 3 to 2 Sept. 8 to give Stinson a "general discharge under honorable conditions" after finding him guilty of "committing a homosexual act." Stinson, who says he is gay but denied that this in any way affects his service in the Navy, was found guilty on evidence sent to the Navy by an ex-lover in retaliation for Stinson's breaking off with him. While a general discharge is less damaging than a dishonorable or an undesirable discharge, Stinson plans to fight for a completely honorable discharge as far as he can take the case, according to the Sept. 9 *Washington Post*. His case is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union.

RADICAL ECONOMISTS BLAST NIXON'S FREEZE: After holding a week of seminars near Morgantown, W. Va., in August, the Union for Radical Political Economics adopted a four-page statement condemning Nixon's wage freeze. It charged that while "the main cause of the Nixon program lies in the capitalists' need to further rationalize and control inherently destructive tendencies in capitalism." Such control will mean a "stronger concentration of corporate government power" at the expense of workers power "to control the human and physical resources of their workplaces and communities." The URPE is an organization of radical university teachers, graduate students and others that oppose the so-called "positivist" approach taken to economics in U.S. schools, counterposing an analysis committed to "serving the workers' needs and (to) the desirability of a world without oppression and poverty." The group can be contacted at 2503 Student Activities Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104, or by calling (313) 633-4944.

ANTHONY RUSSO ON HUNGER STRIKE: Anthony J. Russo, in jail for contempt under the blatantly unjust "immunity statute" because he refused to testify against Daniel Ellsberg, began a hunger strike Sept. 16 at the Terminal Island Federal Prison, according to the Sept. 17 *New York Times*. Russo, 34, was jailed Aug. 16 after refusing to answer the questions of the federal grand jury that indicted Ellsberg for "illegal possession" of the Pentagon papers.

YOUTH HUMILIATED FOR PUTTING FLAG WHERE IT BELONGS: Terry Lee Valmassoi, an 18-year-old from Taylor, Mich., was sentenced by a district judge with a perverse sense of justice to recite the "Pledge of Allegiance" before the courthouse flag every day for three months because he had been convicted of "desecrating the flag" by wearing it as a patch on the seat of his jeans.



Anna Tavares and Angelina Watkins are the first longshorewomen working as stevedores at Providence, R.I., Municipal Wharf.

BOOK CLAIMS ADOLESCENT ILLITERACY IS A FRAUD: A recent book by Daniel Fedar, *The Naked Children* (Macmillan, \$6.95), asserts that reading tests administered in public schools are misleading because the testers assume the students try to score as well as they can. Fedar believes that many students with low scores can read perfectly well but purposely fake incompetence as a way of rebelling against a hostile school system. The author bases his theory on children he met in the course of a year-long experiment at a Washington, D.C., junior high school, particularly a "gang" of five students led by a 14-year-old girl. All five were bright and good readers, but they had been classified as functional illiterates because they deliberately played dumb on tests and in classes.

FASCISTS KILL STRIKE ORGANIZER: A man distributing leaflets to Madrid construction workers, urging them to join a strike for higher wages, was shot to death by the Civil Guards Sept. 13, according to the *Washington Post*. The tiny item in the Sept. 14 issue did not give the victim's name, but identified him as a member of the "workers commission" conducting the strike. These commissions include socialists, Communists and others; they are illegal in the eyes of the fascist government. "Labor sources predicted," the *Post* said, "that the organizer's death could lead to demonstrations and to the enlargement of the strike."

MARTHA MITCHELL EMBARRASSES HER SON: Martha Mitchell's son, Army Lt. C. Jay Jennings, is often embarrassed by his mother's statements, according to an interview he had with an Associated Press reporter last month in Vietnam, where he is now stationed. "Remember when she said the war was over?" Jennings asked. Commenting that the statement caused "a lot of adverse opinion," Jennings said, "Well, I wrote her saying the war is still a physical reality in this country. . . ."

— LEE SMITH

Subscription sales ahead in the first week of drive for 30,000

By SHARON CABANISS
SEPT. 21 — The fall 1971 *Militant* subscription drive for 30,000 new readers got off to a successful start with 3,193 subscriptions in the first week! This is 466 more than the 2,727 necessary to keep on schedule. The first 20 areas listed on the Scoreboard are on time or ahead of schedule this week.

Oakland-Berkeley sub sellers felt so confident after selling 104 subs, they have already increased their initial quota from 1,000 to 1,600! One person sold 11 subs over the phone to teachers he works with in the teachers union.

Twin Cities has turned in the largest number, 311, which is more than 25 percent of their 1,200 quota! They have sold the bulk of these by traveling 30 to 80 miles into Wisconsin twice a week because the schools in Minnesota are not open yet. The sub drive directors, Louie Cobet and Marty Anderson, report their only worry is

that they do not have enough time to cover all the schools available in their area.

The national sub teams have set the pace by selling 1,013 subscriptions, which is fully one-third of the total received to date. Reports from the four teams indicate that this is only the beginning.

Terry Hillman on the Southern team reports that they were kicked off campus by the police at the predominantly Black Norfolk State College in Virginia. The Student Government then promised to get them permission to sell or they would sell for them. Hillman found that at Hampton Institute, another largely Black campus, she was able to sell 20 subs to women in less than two hours. At Old Dominion, the largest campus in Norfolk, the team of four sold 75 subs in three hours. They ordered 1,000 of the special issue on the Attica Massacre to sell this week.

Sally Moore on the Mid-Atlantic

team reports that interest in *The Militant's* coverage of the Attica massacre was high in Upstate New York. The team will be selling this week at demonstrations in Buffalo and Rochester.

Moore said they have been selling mainly "to women on the abortion issue and to Blacks on our support to the Black liberation movement. Black women in particular are really interested in knowing about the abortion campaign. Colgate and Utica were really great to sell at. Every other person would buy a sub. Most people we sold to felt that they should know what's going on and bought a sub."

Along with selling hundreds of *Militant* subscriptions and single issues, the four teams have distributed over 10 thousand antiwar, antiabortion and Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign leaflets and brochures. The response has been enthusiastic, and many young people have been met who want to set up abortion repeal coalitions, Student Mobilization Com-

mittee chapters, and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley campaigner groups. They have also received several requests to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

With this very promising beginning, it's very important not to let up, but to carefully organize the drive in each area to get over the hump in the first few weeks.

The general campaign to increase the circulation of *The Militant* continued this week with many areas ordering increased bundles of the issue featuring the Attica Massacre. Although complete results are not in yet, initial sales have been very good. New York City, for example, sold over 350 at an Attica protest demonstration in Harlem.

If you would like to help sell subscriptions, send your quota into the Militant Business Office today. The deadline for the weekly scoreboard is Tuesdays.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	New Subs			
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	58			
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	1			
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	13			
Travis AFB, Calif.	10	14			
Davenport, Iowa	10	3			
Austin, Texas	375	108			
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	311			
Bloomington, Ind.	150	32			
Washington D. C.	600	124			
Marietta, Ohio	10	2			
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	178			
Paterson, N.J.	25	4			
State College, Pa.	20	3			
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	14			
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	132			
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	149			
Boulder, Colo.	100	12			
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	145			
Worcester, Mass.	200	21			
San Antonio, Texas	40	4			
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	2			
Wichita, Kan.	20	2			
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	8			
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	100			
San Diego, Calif.	200	15			
Boston, Mass.	2,000	136			
Denver, Colo.	700	47			
Connecticut	200	13			
Oakland-Berkeley, Cal	1,600	104			
Long Island, N.Y.	200	12			
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	89			
Houston, Texas	600	33			
Providence, R.I.	200	11			
Jacksonville, Fla.	40	2			
Seattle, Wash.	600	23			
Madison, Wis.	300	11			
Atlanta, Ga.	750	27			
San Jose, Calif.	60	2			
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	34			
East Lansing, Mich.	80	2			
Edinboro, Pa.	40	1			
Nashville, Tenn.	45	1			
Amherst, Mass.	100	2			
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	2			
Tampa, Fla.	150	3			
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	38			
Kansas City, Mo.	300	3			
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	2			
Portland, Ore.	400	2			
El Paso, Texas	50	1			
DeKalb, Ill.	120	0			
Claremont, Calif.	40	0			
Eugene, Ore.	50	0			
Logan, Utah	100	0			
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	0			
North Andover, Mass.	20	0			
Oxford, Ohio	75	0			
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	0			
Pullman, Wash.	10	0			
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0			
National Teams	6,000	1,013			
Mid-Atlantic		(391)			
Southern		(267)			
Western		(225)			
Southwest		(130)			
General	325	124			
TOTAL TO DATE		3,193			
GOAL		30,000			

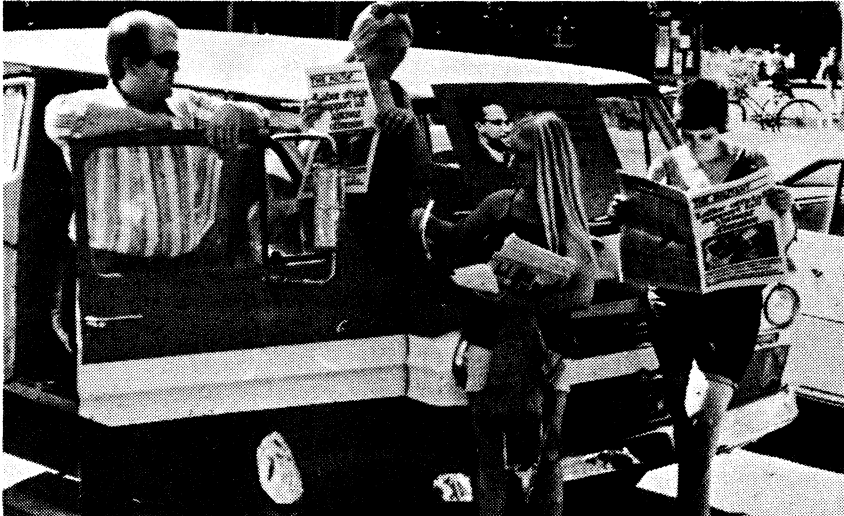


Photo by Richard Gambrell

National sub-selling teams are setting the pace. Here, the West Coast team stops at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

If you want to know the truth about the Davis trial... Read *The Militant*

Subscribe now to the fastest growing radical newspaper in the U.S. for weekly on-the-spot coverage of the trials of Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee. While most papers try to cover up the lies and crimes of the capitalist class, *The Militant* reports the truth about the murder of George Jackson and the massacre at Attica. Reporters were on the spot in Attica last week and at the Tombs in New York last year bringing *Militant* readers the facts.

The Militant has been in the forefront of defense of all political prisoners, along with carrying up-to-date reports on the radicalization in the prisons.

Subscribe now 10 issues/\$1

- () Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
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Support widens for abortion campaign

By KIPP DAWSON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The new national office of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has been enthusiastically received in Washington, D. C. National offices of many groups have already indicated an interest in WONAAC's Nov. 20 demonstrations and other activities for the repeal of all antiabortion laws.

These include the American Association of University Women, the American Home Economics Association, the American Nurses Association, the National Student Association's Women's Division, Psi Chi (the honorary psychology society), B'nai B'rith Women, the National Association of Social Workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the White House Conference on Children and Youth, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Planned Parenthood, the United Methodist Church, and the American Psychological Association.

Most of these groups, as well as many others that WONAAC is still contacting, have recently passed resolutions calling for the repeal of all antiabortion laws. Among the most interesting of these is the resolution passed July 1, 1971, by the annual meeting of the American Home Economics Association. It reads in part: "Whereas a responsible position concerning abortion should be based on the rights of the individual woman, her family and society, and whereas the present legal structure in many states fosters illegal abortions under hazardous conditions; therefore be it resolved that the American Home Economics Association support the repeal of laws restricting or prohibiting abortions performed by a duly licensed physician."

Since the development of the women's abortion movement, many other organizations have passed resolutions

calling for the repeal of all abortion laws. These include the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Medical Women's Association, the American Public Health Association, Church Women United, the District of Columbia Commission on the Status of Women, Unitarian-Universalist Association, the United Auto Workers, the United Christian Church, the United Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., the Urban League, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Medical Association, the United Church of Christ, the Student American Medical Association, and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

WONAAC has found that an aggressive approach pays off in reaching out to involve groups in WONAAC activities. By going through the phone book and meeting with representatives of almost any organization with a sizable female constituency, WONAAC has discovered new groups which support the abortion law repeal campaign, has laid the groundwork for new contingents in the Nov. 20 demonstrations, and has broadened WONAAC's national decision-making bodies.

The WONAAC national office has also received reports that campus and high school women have set up abortion campaign literature tables and begun publicity and outreach work at schools across the country. In several areas, special task forces of Black, Chicana, Native-American, Latina, and Asian-American women have begun to organize for the Nov. 20 March on Washington and the San Francisco demonstration. Other task forces, including Church women, military women, psychologists, medical women, and working women, are in the process of formation.

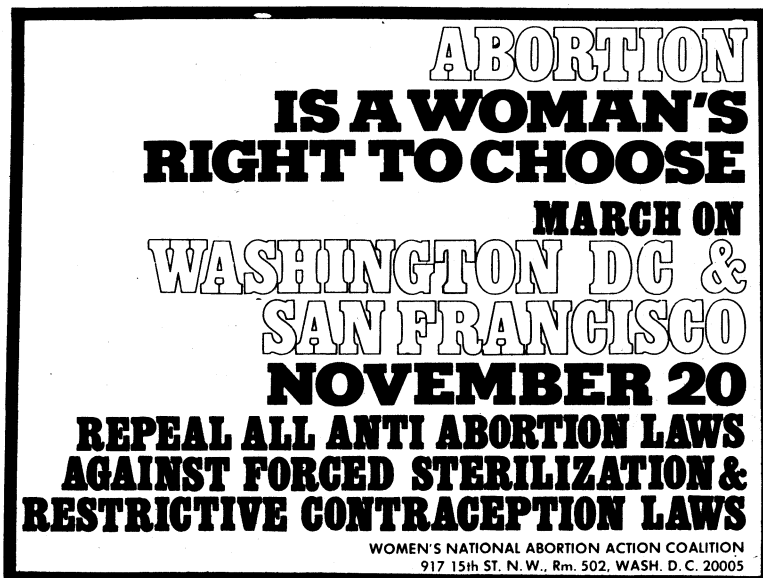
A West Coast WONAAC conference is planned for the weekend of Oct. 15-

17 at the University of California in Berkeley. Tentative plans include a teach-in Friday night and constituency and implementation workshops Saturday and Sunday. The focus of the conference will be on building West Coast participation in the San Francisco march on Nov. 20. (For more information on West Coast activities, contact the Women's Abortion Coalition, 130 10th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103, phone: 415-864-0500.)

Additional WONAAC conferences

Coordinating Committee of WONAAC will be held Oct. 2, beginning at noon, at the YWCA at 2230 Withrel St. in Detroit. This meeting is open to representatives of all organizations supporting WONAAC's abortion law repeal campaign.

The agenda will include discussion of a national endorser campaign, finances, march route for the Nov. 20 March on Washington, rally for the Nov. 20 demonstration, a national Women's Commission of Inquiry on



Above is an actual size reproduction of sticker available from WONAAC, 100 for 50 cents.

have been scheduled for the Seattle-Portland-Vancouver area in Seattle Oct. 2, in Atlanta for the Georgia area Oct. 16, and in Houston for the Texas area Oct. 13 and 14. In addition, WONAAC will be participating in the national conferences of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws and the Society for Humane Abortion, as well as local conferences including a Kalamazoo, Mich., Women's Liberation Conference and a women's health conference in Chapel Hill, N. C.

The next meeting of the National

Abortion, task force organizing, literature and publications, and litigation and legislation.

New education and publicity materials are now available, including stickers, posters, brochures and leaflets, buttons, endorser cards, and a new national newsletter. Special brochures and leaflets are available for Black, Chicana, and Asian-American women. Questions, literature orders, and contributions can be addressed to WONAAC, 917 15th St. N.W., Suite 502, Washington, D. C. 20005, phone (202) 347-0946.

Defeats for two equal rights bills

By CAROLINE LUND

There are two antidiscrimination bills presently before Congress which could, if passed, mean major steps forward for the women's rights struggle. One is a bill that would strengthen the jurisdiction and enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bars discrimination in employment on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, or national origin. The other is a bill to bar federal aid to colleges and universities which practice sex discrimination in admissions policies, or in hiring or salaries of faculty.

However, the prospects for passage of these bills does not look good. Each bill has suffered a defeat in Congress—one in the House and one in the Senate—which demonstrates the opposition of the capitalist politicians in Congress to measures which could help eliminate sex and race discrimination. The defeat of each of these bills in one house is most likely related to the solid support of Congress for the present wage freeze, which also freezes the inequalities in wages and jobs due to discrimination against women and oppressed nationalities. These capitalist politicians do not want women and Black people upsetting the wage freeze by fighting for equal pay and for back pay due them because of discrimination.

On Sept. 16, the House of Representatives took up the bill to strengthen Title VII. This bill would have empowered the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) to issue "cease and desist" orders to force employers to stop sex discrimination practices.

The EEOC is the body set up under Title VII to investigate charges of discrimination. As it presently stands,

the EEOC has no power to enforce Title VII—it can only attempt to convince employers to stop discriminating, through "conciliation efforts."

The bill would also have extended the coverage of Title VII to 10 million state, federal and local government employees, including teachers. As it now stands, Title VII specifically exempts state and local governments and educational institutions from having to comply with its provisions.

What the House did was to dump this bill and pass an alternative, watered-down version which even Democrats in the House say is "almost worse than nothing."

The watered-down version would allow the EEOC to file court suits against discriminating employers, but not to issue "cease and desist" orders. Also, this alternative bill would not broaden jurisdiction of Title VII to state and local governments. In addition, noted the Sept. 17 *Washington Post*, the bill passed by the House would take away some existing rights: "There would be a six-month delay in seeking court action, class action suits to help large groups would be forbidden and individuals could not, as now, seek relief under other laws. . . ."

Opponents of the original, stronger bill pointed out that it could lead to orders to end discriminatory practices in hiring police, fire departments, and many other areas. The original bill would also have made it much harder to practice sex or race discrimination against school teachers and principals.

The other measure, banning discrimination in higher education, was defeated in the Senate in late August. A modified version of it is expected

to come up in the House for a vote in late September.

This measure was proposed as an amendment to an \$18-billion higher education bill. This is the first time legislation has been brought before Congress dealing specifically with sex discrimination in education. The Senate measure would have barred federal funds from any institution which discriminates on the basis of sex in admissions, hiring of faculty, or salaries of faculty.

A similar measure is pending in the House, which would make exceptions to allow the continued existence of certain one-sex schools, such as military service academies and religious institutions like seminaries.

In hearings on sex discrimination in higher education, Representative Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.) testified that in Virginia last year, 21,000 women were turned down for admission to state schools, while no men were turned down.

The widespread existence of sex discrimination in colleges has been illustrated by the large number of complaints being brought before the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Last year, an executive order was established banning sex discrimination by federal government contractors or subcontractors in educational institutions, and the HEW was authorized to enforce this order.

Since then, HEW has received 250 complaints, from individuals and from the Women's Equity Action League, the National Organization for Women, and campus women's groups. HEW has conducted investigations of 82 educational institutions so far, and all of them were found to be practicing sex discrimination.

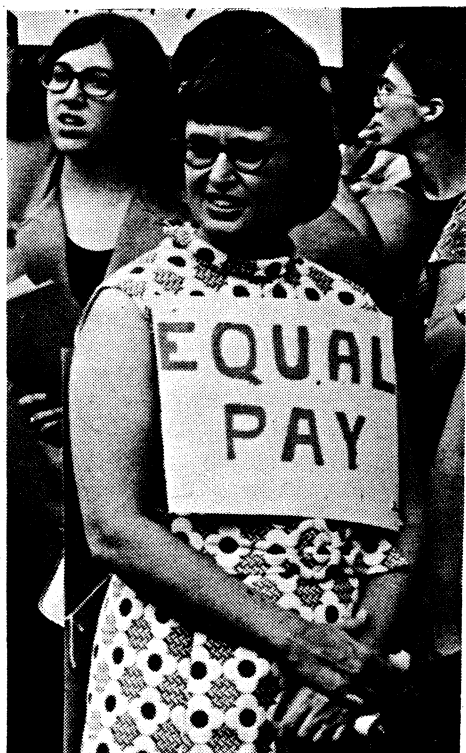


Photo by Randy Furst

From *Intercontinental Press*
By JOSEPH HANSEN

MEXICO CITY, September 19— In an interview here today, Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian peasant leader, told how he was deported from Peru by the Velasco government.

He left the house Monday evening September 13 to buy a few items at the drugstore. The two policemen outside, posted to watch his comings and goings, told him he was wanted at

it was more or less normal.

By Tuesday evening, however, it was clear that something unusual was afoot. The police took him to the airport. The Trotskyist leader's first thought was that he was being exiled to the Selva (jungle). It is not always certain that a prisoner will return alive from a concentration camp in that region. However, Blanco changed his mind when he noted that he was being taken to "international departures."

Hugo Blanco deported to Mexico



Hugo Blanco

headquarters to answer a few questions.

"But I have to get some medicine at the drugstore."

"Good. Let's go."

The police went with him to make the purchases and accompanied him back to the house.

There Hugo picked up a blanket.

"What do you want that for?" asked one of the cops.

"Just in case."

At the headquarters of the state security police in Lima, Blanco was questioned for some hours. It was a strange inquiry. The official in charge was interested only in Blanco's political position in relation to the Velasco government. Why did he remain in opposition?

Thus the conversation concerned the agrarian reform and its lack of thoroughness, the class nature of the Velasco regime, and so on.

Blanco thought that perhaps they would hold him for only twenty-four hours, the legal limit unless charges are filed. By then, his lawyer, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, would demand to know the charges, and the government would have difficulty in presenting any, since Blanco had violated no laws whatsoever since he was released from El Frontón last December.

The police were rather polite. They did not beat him, and they permitted members of his family to bring him some food and another blanket.

During the day the police took photographs of him—the usual front and profile "mug" shot. Blanco did not pay much attention to this, as

The police put him aboard a Braniff plane about 10:00 p.m. They handed the captain of the plane some papers that evidently had to do with his case. Blanco did not have the slightest idea of the destination of the plane. Bolivia or some other country where the government might welcome the opportunity to shoot him?

"Where is the plane going?" Hugo asked one of the passengers.

"To Panama and the Canal Zone."

"I thought to myself," said Blanco, "they're going to dump me in the canal."

The plane landed at Panama City at about 4:00 a.m. Wednesday. Blanco was evidently expected. The captain of the plane handed the papers to officials of the Panamanian government and they took Blanco to a barracks of the "pumas"—the national guard. There he was kept under surveillance until about 2:00 p.m. He was then placed on a Pan American plane bound for Mexico and the papers were handed to the captain.

The plane landed in Costa Rica. Blanco was told to stay aboard until the plane took off thirty minutes later.

In Nicaragua, where another stop was made, he was again not permitted to disembark. At San Salvador, the next stop, Blanco was held in a room by the immigration authorities until the plane was ready to resume flight.

In Guatemala, he was again kept on board the plane. In this country, infamous for its repression and its torture, Blanco preferred to stay in the plane.

Blanco had only about 450 soles

in his pocket—a little more than \$10. He told the stewardesses about his plight and one of them gave him twenty pesos to help out when he reached Mexico City.

When the plane landed late in the evening, immigration officials were waiting for him at the door of the plane as he stepped out. The captain handed the officials the papers.

Blanco was taken to a building in another part of the city, maintained for aliens of uncertain status. It was now two days since the police had seized him and Blanco still did not know whether Mexico City was his ultimate destination. He spent the night in a dormitory which had about ten double bunks. There were other aliens there, but no one from Peru.

The Mexican immigration officials seemed puzzled by his case. They said they had never seen anything like it. His passport, they told Blanco, was completely new; in fact his photograph showed he was still wearing the same clothes he had on when it was taken. He was dressed like he had just got off the job. His tourist card was likewise perfectly valid, having been issued by the Mexican embassy in Lima. But, strangely, his baggage consisted of two blankets. Strangest of all, he did not have any money; that is, the amount of money a tourist normally carries. There was nothing whatever, either in the passport or the Mexican tourist card, to confirm the story he told about having been deported from Peru.

While they carried out an investigation, the immigration authorities held him in their special building. They treated him with the utmost courtesy.

Yesterday, Blanco said, he was brought to the gobernación, the department exercising final authority on cases such as his. The Mexican government, the official in charge told him, had decided to grant him the status of a "visitante" (visitor).

The government had also decided to give him a work permit so that he could obtain a job. This is the equivalent of "resident" status in the United States. For an alien in Mexico, as elsewhere, this is a very favorable situation. Blanco is scheduled to receive the work permit tomorrow.

The authorities told Blanco that representatives of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners had come from New York and inquired about his situation the previous evening. This was the first that Blanco had any intimation of the concern felt by defenders of civil liberties in many countries when the news was received from several wire services that he had been deported to Panama.

A representative of the Mexican government then took Blanco in an automobile to a good hotel, paid for a room for him, and presented him with 800 pesos [\$64] for living expenses to help tide him over until he can get work.

When Blanco was told of the disposition of his case, the official in charge gave him his Peruvian passport. This turned out to be a curious document.

True, it was brand new. That was his picture, evidently a print of the front "mug" photograph taken by the police last Tuesday in Lima, but the fingerprint placed on the page for identification purposes was not his. And the signature was an absolutely illegible scrawl evidently made with a pen wielded at high speed.

A mystery thus remains. Whose fingerprint is it? General Velasco's? And the signature? Is that an effort by General Velasco to write the name "Hugo Blanco"? Perhaps some day, after the socialist revolution wins in Peru, these two mysteries will be cleared up.

Statement by Hugo Blanco

The following appeal was made by Hugo Blanco in Mexico City Sept. 19. It is reprinted from the Sept. 27 *Intercontinental Press*.

At the beginning of this month, the Peruvian teaching profession, organized in the Federación Nacional de Educadores del Perú [National Federation of Educators], initiated a strike of national scope in answer to the refusal of the government to improve their precarious living conditions, conditions that contrast vividly with the opulence in which the military lives. In spite of the efforts of the reactionary forces and the government, the strike movement was growing stronger day by day, supported as it was by the students, their parents, and broad sectors of the population.

The military junta, frightened at the dimensions of the movement, opted for a repression and violently broke up the teachers' demonstrations, jailing hundreds of teachers, students, and workers. Finally, the junta announced that they had deported various persons, including student and faculty strike leaders and myself.

I have been deported to Mexico, where fortunately I have been given permission to reside as a "visitante" [visitor], but I am ignorant of the fate of the rest of my "deported" colleagues. The press remains silent. Could it be that the Peruvian government has killed them? Are they hesitating before carrying out the deed?

As a revolutionist and as a Peruvian, I am worried about the fate of my friends. I demand that the Peruvian government inform the world as to what they have done with these students and strike leaders they say they have deported.

I appeal to the student and political organizations, the unions, and the intellectuals who have in the past been able to stay the murderous hand of the military to mobilize once again in defense of Peruvians whose lives are in danger. This is a matter of the most extreme urgency. Immediate action is called for to achieve the liberation and the safety of these fighters. Their lives depend on us!

Bolivian Trotskyists killed

Four members of the Bolivian Trotskyist organization, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party), were killed in August during the struggle against the coup by right-wing Colonel Banzer in Bolivia. One revolutionary peasant leader who was killed, Tomas Chambi, was a member of the Central Committee of the POR.

The Sept. 20 *Intercontinental Press* reported that 500 persons have been arrested since the coup, according to sources in La Paz. The Sept. 13 issue of *The Nation* said that 110 persons were killed and 600 wounded in the coup d'etat.

In Our Opinion

No whitewash!

Once again the utter and complete lies of the prison authorities have been exposed. The autopsy report issued Sept. 21 confirmed that Soledad Brother George Jackson was shot in the back and not, as prison officials claimed, through the top of the head from a guard tower as he was trying to escape.

This little bit of truth came to light within days after the lies of the Attica authorities were also exposed. And today a few more Americans than yesterday understand that the capitalist rulers and their mercenaries cold-bloodedly murder defenseless human beings, that they then deny it and systematically set out to make the public believe that the victims were the criminals.

The full truth must come out!

In the wake of the Attica Massacre, the speed with which different government agencies rushed to announce investigations was almost obscene. Every conceivable body, from congressional committees to the American Association of Wardens and Superintendents, announced an inquiry into the events at Attica. But for unmitigated gall none matched Governor Rockefeller who promptly created commissions to look into the murders he himself ordered, and to protect the civil rights of the prisoners in Attica!

A *real* commission of inquiry is needed. Not one composed of supposedly "neutral" individuals who could not possibly come out with the truth because they are investigating those who hired them; but a commission composed of individuals who have the interests of the prisoners and their families at heart. A commission determined to know how each person died; how many were wounded; how the men were treated after surrendering; if they were beaten and if so who was responsible; if they were refused medical care and if so who was responsible; if they are being victimized now and if so who is responsible.

Those are the kinds of questions which must be answered and which can only be answered by a committee composed of individuals really representing and responsible to the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano liberation movements, the labor movement, the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, and similar independent forces. Only such a commission could produce a report that would be believed by the masses of people who know they will get nothing but lies from the "official" investigations.

It will take mass pressure to bring such a committee into existence. And further mobilizations, demonstrations, rallies and petitions to force the authorities to cooperate with it and permit access to the necessary people and records.

Such a campaign is needed. The truth about Attica must be known!

Racist arrogance

It is a rare occasion when we hear any truthful statements from the mouths of politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. However, whenever they make a slip and come out with some of their real thoughts and intentions, it can be very expensive to their careers because it gives masses of Americans a glimpse of their true rottenness.

This is what happened with Senator Edmund Muskie when, on Sept. 8, he made the statement that he would not choose a Black person as a running mate because "with a Black man on the ticket we would both lose." (Apparently, the thought of a Black woman on the ticket never even crossed his mind.)

Muskie's statement displayed a disgusting racist arrogance toward Black Americans which none of his subsequent "explanations" can cover up. He obviously expected Black people to agree that since this country, in his opinion, is so racist that a Black person would not be "electable," Blacks should therefore throw their support to white candidates like Muskie and trust them to represent their interests.

Muskie's arrogance was more than matched, however, by the crass hypocrisy of President Nixon and the Republican Party National Committee in their attempts to make political capital out of Muskie's statement. Despite his pious criticisms of Muskie, Nixon certainly has no intention of running a Black candidate on his ticket either.

Muskie only stated what all these Democratic and Republican party politicians believe and say to each other in private but dare not say to the public. Like Muskie, all of them care only about winning. They care nothing about the systematic oppression of Black people in this country nor do they care to recognize—much less fight for—the right of Black people to control their lives.

This is just one more argument for supporting the Socialist Workers Party's 1972 presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

Letters

Huntingdon prisoner

I am writing to thank you and your staff at *The Militant* for sending me your paper. I wrote to the Young Socialist Alliance, and I guess they gave my name to you.

I believe that Linda Jenness will be a beautiful president and that she will tell the capitalists where it is at.

I have passed *The Militant* around and all my brothers here, white and Black, say Right On.

I'm against the war, because all it is is mass murder of people like us who are fighting for freedom from the chains that keep us oppressed, in jail and on the streets. In here I am called a "lefty commie lover." Who is the real liar? To me it is this stinking system, and the money-grabbing capitalists who send the young and poor to fight this stinking war. The real war should be on them, and their way of tricks and taxes.

I don't need any establishment paper—it is all lies. I would like to receive more copies of your paper and some material I could pass on to my brothers in here. There are a lot of right-wingers in here—real creeps. It is a hassle to be near them and their AmeriKKKa. I am white, but I am also a human who sees that all must be treated alike and not like dogs. Peace and love to all at *The Militant*. As Ho Chi Minh said, after sorrow comes joy. J. W.

State Correctional Institution at Huntingdon, Pa.

Radical information center

A group of people in our community—Far Rockaway, New York—have opened an information center and underground library. Our activities include providing information about abortions, draft counseling, birth control and venereal disease, women's and men's consciousness-raising, political and creative workshops, and some films.

An important function of the Alternatives Center is our library or reading room. Our center is the only place in the area for people to obtain underground or movement literature. All publications remain inside the library to be read by many people. Hopefully, we can include your publication. Since we have no outside income, the rent, phone costs and all expenses come from our own pockets. We are barely scraping together the necessary money, so if you can, we'd really dig a subscription and/or back issues, free, or as free as possible. *Alternatives Center*
18-47 Mott Ave., Rm. 105
Far Rockaway, N. Y. 11691

Colorado State Penitentiary

The Latin American Development Society was very happy to hear from your organization and would like to know that you are going to continue to write us.

LADS is an incorporated, nonprofit organization here in the Colorado State Penitentiary. We have approximately 170 men in our organization and are known throughout Colorado. We have a number of programs to aid our members and hopefully make them a bit more aware of what is transpiring on the national and international scene. At present, we

have a class that shows us the relation of underdeveloped countries to the developed ones in terms of economic, historical and political relationships, i.e., Latin America, S. E. Asia, S. Africa, etc.

This class is being taught by a very sincere man who has in the course of his teachings made us aware of your organization. He suggested that we write you for a better understanding of what is really happening.

LADS hopes to begin an exchange of publications with you. We hope that you can begin this service since we have many members that enjoy reading varying literature, and there is a genuine need for such literature. In the event you can afford an exchange of literature with us, you may write at the above address care of *Sol Castano*, which is our official publication and of which you will find enclosed past issues to give you a better understanding of what we are attempting to accomplish with our membership. *Adelante, The Latin American Development Society*
Colorado State Penitentiary
Canon City, Colo.

Pouting infant?

In the interests of fair-mindedness, I purchased an experimental subscription to your "publication." I have long held views diametrically opposed to yours and those of the Communist Party. Communism, I'm sure you realize, is a form of government which works perfectly in theory but has yet to operate efficiently in practice (oppression of minority groups and literary repression in Russia is ample evidence of this fact).

Your "publication" (I use quotes to indicate my personal opinion that any madman with an offset press can "publish" something) is a superb example of the inability of communism as a system to acknowledge its own shortcomings and its stubborn refusal of self-examination.

You refuse to even mention an opinion which might conflict with your own. I pity you all for your childishness and realize that there is no reasoning with a pouting infant.

I read your "publication" and actually tried to find some reasoning in it; unfortunately I found none. Thus I wish to cancel my subscription (folly-filled experiment that it was) and offer my apologies for wasting so much of your already misspent time. (I would like now to dare you to be so bold as to publish my letter; perhaps you are not quite so closed-minded as I imagine.)

Midshipman 4C, USN ROTC
Villanova, Pa.

Formosan self-determination

As the "Ping-Pong" diplomacy between Nixon and Mao continues, it becomes obvious to all observers that a roadblock stands in the way of "closer" relations between the two countries. I am, of course, speaking of the political future of Formosa, now under the heel of Chiang Kai-shek. The people caught in the middle of this power play, and the people who stand to lose the most are the 12 million Formosans who pres-

The Great Society

ently are living as an oppressed people under the two million Chinese ruling class, refugees from the Chinese civil war who took over the island in the late forties and have continued their reign by utilizing perpetual martial law.

The Formosans consider themselves a nationality apart from the Chinese, a people with a different history, culture and language. Even Mao admitted this in 1937 and was a proponent of Formosan independence. But as is often the case, Mao has changed his mind of late and now claims Formosa to be a province of China.

To deal with this problem, the Formosan Independence Movement has decided to call a Formosan People's Assembly on Sept. 18, 1971. P'eng Ming-min, spokesman for the group, said in his call for the assembly, "Our fate must be decided by us; we will never accept an arbitrary decision forced upon us from the outside. Our struggle to obtain self-determination must be carried out both inside and outside of Formosa, and we must urgently increase our strength."

This aspect of the "Chinese situation," the fate of the Formosan people, has been almost totally ignored by the press, both the bourgeois and the movement press. It is my hope that you will be able to cover the assembly in *The Militant* and thus help to bring this problem to light. B. B.

Chicago, Ill.

Prisoners' revolutionary party

My brothers and sisters in the struggle: I am a member of a newly formed revolutionary party. We seek to reeducate ourselves and all of like persuasion here.

We respect our brothers and sisters and comrades of *The Militant* immensely for explaining, as it is, the "contradiction of freedom" in a clear, simple manner, and the Black praxis needed to pursue abolition of same.

We are in need of literature for a re-education program and workshop. We of the Black people's party seek periodicals, Third World newspapers. We ask for your permitting our receipt of same free, as we have no great or even small financial access or backing.

I am from Philly. A 19-year-old brother who just put down that rotten, corrupted and selfish gang war—stepping on our brothers and ripping them off, all in the name of a gang. Now I know that there is genocide being committed against Blacks and all oppressed people, and I owe my life to the people to fight against the oppressors.

May we hear from you in this regard? This is written on behalf of members of this same political society. Right On. The struggle will be won when the oppressed people put up the gun.

A. T. S.
State Correctional Institution at
Dallas, Pa.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Hardly worth mentioning—"WASHINGTON (UPI)—The National Research Council reported Monday that air polluted by lead was a potential hazard to children and some workers in central city neighborhoods, but not to the general population."—The Los Angeles Times.

Pretty good odds—That National Research Council study on lead reports that the air in large cities contains 20 times as much lead as country air. However, the report assures, the average city dweller's blood-lead concentration is only one-fourth the level at which symptoms of lead poisoning begin to appear. And if you could learn not to inhale, you could maybe even get a bit below the average.

Now hear this—Tests on New York's Long Island Expressway showed a noise level just a notch below the 85-decibel point where it begins to do hearing damage. When trucks roared past, the testing equipment needle shot 10 decibels above the damage point. A U. S. Public Health official conceded that exposure to such noise levels

could do some undetermined amount of damage to the hearing, but assured, "it's not going to create any serious hearing problem."

Feeling uptight?—Dr. Samuel Rosen, world-famed ear surgeon, says undue noise stimulates the nervous system, causing a temporary constriction of blood vessels. In turn, he explained, this pumps "adrenaline into the blood leading to the contraction of muscles, an increase in the pulse rate and breathing rate, and irritation of the pupils of the eyes."

Charge 22—Feldman Veal Corp. of New York was fined \$13,000 for shipping uninspected veal adorned with forged federal inspection stamps. In 1948, a Feldman official was convicted of bribing an Army sergeant to accept unsafe meat. In '51 and again in '61, the company was convicted of shipping uninspected meat. In '68, it was caught peddling six tons of "putrid meat." In '69, the charge was selling West Point inferior meat with counterfeit stamps. The government says it lacks the power to shut Feld-

man down. It could withdraw inspection services, thus barring interstate shipments. But only if the plant was unsanitary, which it's not charged with being.

Freeway gasp, they call it—Two California health officials say that data accumulated in Los Angeles over a four-year period demonstrates that death rates for large cities are linked directly to the concentration of carbon monoxide in the atmosphere. They are persuaded that "carbon monoxide in the concentrations encountered in community air pollution is associated with excess mortality."

For good measure—The above items were accumulated from the press while seated directly above the San Andres Fault. We put the paper aside after finishing a report which advised that in addition to the certainty of future major earthquakes, Californians can anticipate that a number of coast volcanoes, previously assumed to be extinct, may blow at any time.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

In addition to forced sterilization—ironically—women are also faced with severe restrictions on getting a voluntary sterilization. Voluntary sterilization is legal in all 50 states except Utah, but almost all hospitals—if they permit sterilization at all—impose eligibility restrictions limiting the operation to women or men who are relatively old and who already have a number of children.

The principle underlying both of these problems is the same: women are prevented from making their own decisions about their own bodies. The doctor or the hospital presumes to decide what's supposedly best for the woman—that she should be sterilized, or that she should not be sterilized.

Florence Cafarelli from Peekskill, N. Y., is 26 and has three children. She is suing Peekskill Community Hospital for refusing to allow her doctor to perform the sterilization operation in the hospital. The New York Civil Liberties Union is handling this case, and it presently has three similar cases in New York City.

Expressing her determination to run her own life, Florence Cafarelli told the Aug. 29 New York Times: "At first you say to yourself, there must be something wrong with me, to want something society doesn't approve of. Then you wake up and say, gee, I'm going to look out for myself for a change, for my own welfare and happiness. I have at least 20 more fertile years, and no birth control is 100 percent safe and effective. Besides, birth control is for spacing children. I want permanent birth prevention."

Eight nuns who are teachers at parochial schools in Chapel Hill and Asheville, N. C., have resigned from their posts in protest against an order by the bishop that they must stop wearing secular clothing. The bishop contended that secular clothes produced "an overtone of worldliness." Sister Grace, one of the nuns, said they would like to return to their jobs, but "only if the bishop changes his mind or we get a new bishop."

On Sept. 13, charges were dropped by the Suffolk, N. Y., district attorney's office against Nancy Manfredonia and Bill Baird for allegedly endangering the morals of a child. Nancy Manfredonia had her child with her during part of a lecture by Bill Baird on birth control and abortion at a women's liberation meeting. The D. A. said, however, that he was planning to bring three new felony charges against Baird in relation to the lecture. The charges have not yet been revealed.

New York City is planning to set up over 200 new day-care centers. But the manner in which the city politicians are going about this project is an ugly reflection of the fact that the biggest concern of a capitalist government

is to assure profits to capitalists—not to assure the welfare of its citizens and children.

Since June, the city has signed 115 leases with landlords for the day-care centers at very high rents. Several large landlords were awarded the leases for many of the centers, and Assemblyman Franz Leichter has charged that the city has made the day-care program into "a boondoggle for the benefit of a few fast-buck real estate operators."

The city didn't draw up a plan of where the new day-care centers should be set up on the basis of the greatest need; it simply rented buildings that the big landlords suggested. So that seven centers were purchased in one area—some only three blocks apart—while many poverty-stricken areas will have no centers at all.

Jule Sugarman of the city's Human Resource Administration pointed out at a hearing that in some cases of multiple ownership by landlords of day-care sites, the landlords also owned the construction firms paid by the city to rehabilitate the buildings.

Earlier, in June, a public hearing was held at City Hall in response to widespread protests over a raise in city day-care fees and more restrictive eligibility rules. Helen Borel, co-coordinator of the child-care committee of the National Organization for Women, testified at the hearing, saying, "... we believe a society which places children last among priorities, ... a society that allows few children to benefit and most children to suffer is a sick society. Because we believe this, the National Organization for Women does not ask for 24-hour, free child care available to all, WE DEMAND IT NOW!"

In addition to the profit-making off city day care, another example has come to light of attempts to make profits off of women trying to exercise their right to have an abortion in New York City. Hospitals in New York have reported a widespread practice of cab drivers charging exorbitant fees for driving out-of-state women from New York airports to hospitals for abortions. Most of these women have no knowledge of the city—of cab fares or of the city's geography—and they are often frightened about the abortion to begin with. So they are easy prey for these cab drivers.

Numerous women had told the hospitals that they had to pay up to \$50 for the ride from the airport. The Sept. 9 New York Times reported that one woman who was returning from the hospital to the airport after an abortion told how the cab driver "said he knew why she had been at the hospital and proceeded to make indecent proposals to her. Then he said the fare to the airport would be \$42 and ignored her pleas to let her out."

Such is the "free enterprise" system.

—CAROLINE LUND

November 6 Countdown

A statement on the massacre at Attica was adopted by the Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition in New York Sept. 18. About 150 antiwar delegates representing groups from throughout the mid-Atlantic region unanimously voted for the statement proposed by the Third World Task Force of NPAC. It said, in part, "The National Peace Action Coalition strongly condemns the brutal slaughter at Attica. . . . A particularly galling aspect of Nixon's approval of the Attica massacre is the contrast between the treatment of Lt. Calley, who at Nixon's command remains in his bachelor's apartment, and the savage violence directed at the men imprisoned at Attica."

The Student Mobilization Committee National Steering Committee will meet at Wayne State University in Detroit Sept. 25.

Throughout October, two national leaders of the SMC, Debby Bustin and Geoff Mirelowitz, will be on national

Leon Davis, president of the Drug and Hospital Union, RWDSU, AFL-CIO; Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Teamsters; and others.

The Northern California Peace Action Coalition has obtained the permits for the Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 actions in San Francisco. The site for the Oct. 13 rally will be the Embarcadero Plaza in downtown San Francisco. The Nov. 6 march route will be the same as the route for April 24—through downtown to the Polo Field for a rally. The Northern California regional antiwar conference will take place Oct. 1-2 at San Francisco City College. It will begin at 8 p.m. Oct. 1 with a keynote rally.

The Executive Board of Minnesota Federation of Teachers Local 59 unanimously adopted a resolution Sept. 15 calling for its members to participate in "the peaceful, orderly assemblies for peace on Nov. 6 and

There will be a united meeting "of all antiwar activists" in the New York area Sept. 30 at 7:30 p.m. in the Clover Room of District 65 headquarters, 13 Astor Place. A broad range of organizations have been sent letters of invitation to the meeting, which will discuss plans for Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 in New York, signed by Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition, Norma Becker of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, David Livingston of District 65, Brad Lytle of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and Debby Bustin of the Student Mobilization Committee.

speaking tours to raise funds for and publicize the fall antiwar actions. Bustin will travel to the South, New England and the Midwest—Mirelowitz to the Southwest, West Coast and Northwest. Bustin will be in Minneapolis-St. Paul Oct. 2-4; in Cleveland Oct. 5-9; and in Tampa, Fla. Oct. 10-12. Mirelowitz will be in Austin, Texas, Oct. 1-4; in Denver Oct. 5-8; and in San Diego Oct. 9-12. For more information, write to the SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011.

The Nov. 6 actions in 16 cities have received the endorsement of the National Federation of Priests Councils, an organization of Roman Catholic priests with 35,000 members.

A full-page New York Times advertisement for Oct. 13 and Nov. 6, sponsored by NPAC and PCPJ, is scheduled to appear the week of Sept. 26. The ad has been signed by more than 100 well-known persons from the antiwar, Black liberation and Brown liberation movements; from trade unions, churches, the entertainment industry; from Congress and elsewhere. Among the signers are Senators Birch Bayh and Vance Hartke and a dozen congressional representatives. Other signers include Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo, Ill., United Front; George Wiley and Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization; Rafael Baerga, chairman of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI); Father Dan Berrigan; Daniel Ellsberg; Jane Fonda; Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice; Jose Angel Gutierrez, founder of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party; Coretta King; Betty Friedan;

the buildup moratorium on Oct. 13." The resolution also put Local 59 "on record in favor of bringing all American troops home now." Besides passing the resolution, the union has designated an official representative to the Minnesota PAC Steering Committee, and has set up an internal committee to mobilize its own membership for Nov. 6.

Representatives of Minnesota PAC set up a literature table and distributed leaflets for Nov. 6 at the Sept. 18 convention of the National Farmers Organization in Detroit Lakes, Minn. The NFO delegates were receptive to MPAC's appeal for farmers to march in a special contingent in Minneapolis-St. Paul on Nov. 6, and to MPAC's linking of the war to inflation. The NFO was set up 15 years ago. Primarily composed of family farmers, the NFO has organized militant "holding actions" in the past to demand an increase in the prices they receive for farm goods.

Material to help build the fall actions is available from the national offices of NPAC and SMC. It includes the following items at \$10 per 100—SMC Fall Action Poster; SMC Nov. 6 button, NPAC poster and NPAC button; items available for \$5 per 100 include—the Student Mobilizer and GI Press Service; items available for \$2 per 100 include an NPAC brochure, a fall program leaflet, a Why Out Now? leaflet, a mass action leaflet, and the constituency leaflets for the women's, Black, gay, GIs and veterans, labor and La Raza contingents. The SMC has stickers at \$2.25 per 500, and NPAC has stickers at \$1.25 per 300. All of these materials can be ordered from the two groups at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

The National Picket Line

Contrary to what many people may believe, President Nixon's Aug. 15 edict freezing wages and his request that workers call off strikes for higher wages, has not stopped many angry workers from using their only weapon against both boss and government oppression.

The West Coast longshoremen are still on strike even though Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is trying to get the strikers to loosen up on some of the strikebound cargo lying on the docks and in ships at anchor in the ports.

The four-and-a-half-month-long strike against the Pittsburgh Press Co. is still on, despite the fact that some of the craft unions have signed contracts. The Teamsters reached a tentative agreement with the Press Sept. 14 which its members were expected to approve. The Building Service Employees Union of Pittsburgh still maintain their picket lines against Pittsburgh Press in an effort to win wage increases comparable to those won by the printers in August.

Many teachers throughout the country took up picket signs instead of textbooks on the opening day of school in early September when they learned that the new contracts with increased wages due for the new school year, would not be honored. The teachers in Levittown, N.Y., were out for three days. They won their point, but like all other workers who have wage increases coming to them from current strikes or from second or third year contracts, they will not get the money at least until after Nov. 13 and maybe not then. Retroactive raises are not part of Nixon's plans.

The railroad workers who fought such a valiant fight a couple of months ago and were sent back to work, with the connivance of their own top leadership, still have not settled their strike.

The main issue, and one which the top leadership of the United Transportation Union passed on down to the local union presidents for ratification, is the change in work rules—changes which would rob thousands more rail workers of their jobs. The local presidents, under direct pressure from their memberships, are not anxious to put their own positions on the line by recommending acceptance of the contract.

One local president expressed his views in a letter to the editor of the Chicago Sun-Times. George Edward Roberts, president of Local 957, chastised the newspaper for an editorial entitled "Back to work, hopefully." He calls the whole edit a lie from start to finish and goes on: "The rail strike has not yet been settled. . . . The UTU workers are victims rather than beneficiaries of legislation already enacted. Responsibility for the operating personnel has increased (productivity) . . . while compensation of our members has dropped . . . from third to 33rd in the last 20 years."

Under the presently proposed UTU contract, if and when it is ratified, these workers should receive an additional \$1.60 a day on Oct. 1. Between Oct. 1 and Nov. 12, this will amount to \$38-million. This sum will be retained as profits by the rail operators, and will be reflected as such in the next dividends, according to Harold C. Crotty, president of the Maintenance of Ways Employees.

Dr. Burton L. Behling, president of the American Association of Railroads, said that this organization is not advising its members to put the \$38-million deferred wages into escrow. Looking ahead after Nov. 14, Behling said the railroads had not yet decided what to do after the 90-day freeze. He did venture an estimate that if the freeze continues the rail industry could profit \$300-million annually.

The rail lines, which received an increase in freight rates in anticipation of the wage raises included in the disputed contract, are now asking for another freight rate boost!

Labor Day saw its usual demagogic and phony-fight speeches by the labor bureaucrats. Without exception they promised to fight the inequities of the wage-price freeze. Their idea of how to fight this monster which they have allowed to be placed on the backs of the working people is pointless and fruitless. The current crop of "friends of labor" have failed they say, so let's elect another set. Let's not desert the Democratic Party. Let's stay inside and reform it from within.

A completely different solution was offered in a leaflet distributed at a United Auto Workers rally addressed by union president Leonard Woodcock in Detroit.

The leaflet, entitled "Fight the Freeze," denounces the wage freeze, cites the history of the World War II wage-price boards (which effectively froze wages while prices rose 26 to 30 percent) and demanded that "the UAW . . . drop all equivocation and announce that our contracts will be declared null and void if any provisions are tampered with."

It went on to demand that excess profits be taxed, that personal income tax exemptions be increased, and that the union press for a 30 hour work-week at 40 hours pay. The leaflet wound up calling for united political action by all workers.

The leaflet, signed by the United National Caucus, Detroit Steering Committee continued:

"We therefore call upon the International Executive Board of the UAW to:
 "1) Organize in the immediate future a 24-hour work stoppage;
 "2) Call a congress of labor and its allies for the purpose of developing a program and structure for independent political action."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Over five million unemployed in August



Hunger picketers in Seattle

By DICK ROBERTS

On Sept. 7, the U. S. Department of Labor announced that national unemployment had risen for the third consecutive month in August to a level of 5,115,000 jobless persons—an unemployment rate of 6.1 percent. This does not include those persons who have given up looking for a job.

Unemployment has now been gradually increasing for over two and a half years, since the winter of 1968-69 when Vietnam-war conscription and spending were at their peak. In the first quarter of 1969, the unemployment rate stood at 3.4 percent, a level of 2,698,000 jobless persons.

This long period of rising unemployment has left some areas of the country deeply scarred by recession. The worst hit city is Seattle, Wash. On Aug. 20, the *New York Times* reported a survey of the job conditions in Seattle and the reaction of its residents to Nixon's economic policies.

"The city's unemployment is about 18 or 20 percent right now," a city economist, Karen Rabb, told the *Times*. "And the figures are so unreliable now, because the working wife, for example, when she's exhausted her unemployment benefits, drops out of the job market."

Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman told the *Times*: "This is the most serious crisis that this area has faced in many years, since the Depression."

Another area of the country that has been hit hard by the recession is the tri-state area of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. A *Times* survey Aug. 30 reported "the unemployment rate in New York in July was the highest since 1964; New Jersey's July rate was the highest in a decade, and Con-

necticut's June and July rates were the highest in more than 18 years." The unemployment rate in New York in July was 6.1 percent; New Jersey, 7.4 percent; and Connecticut, 9.4 percent.

As is always the case under capitalism, an economic slowdown hits the more oppressed sectors of society the hardest. The Labor Department figures for August showed Black unemployment at 9.8 percent compared to white unemployment of 5.6 percent. Unemployment among male teenagers had jumped from 15.5 percent in July to 17.3 percent in August.

In a congressional debate Sept. 8, Senator Hubert Humphrey admitted that, "Unemployment strikes especially hard among young people who are poor. By June 1971, there were 1,869,000 young people, aged 16 to 19, out of work. [This was the level before the August increase—D. R.] This alarming rate of 15.8 percent does not even take into account the hundreds of thousands of young men and women who have been looking for jobs since the end of the school year. But we are fully aware of the shocking fact that for Black youth living in poverty areas, the unemployment rate has reached 41.2 percent. . . .

"But while 16- to 19-year-old unemployment has more than doubled since 1969, the number of Neighborhood Youth Corps out-of-school job opportunity slots has sharply declined, from 50,000 to 36,800.

"Meanwhile the administration shut down 59 Job Corps camps, ultimately establishing only nine of the 30 inner-city Job Corps centers it had promised. . . . Even direct employment by

the federal government for disadvantaged young people has been cut back from 76,000 in 1970 to 63,000 this year." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 13904.)

Two days after the announcement of the August unemployment levels, the Nixon administration attempted to divert attention from the unemployment report. On Sept. 9, George P. Shultz, director of the budget, made a widely publicized forecast that the jobless rate would drop below 5 percent in 1972 if Nixon's new economic program is enacted by Congress. Shultz's promise isn't very convincing.

Nixon's economic offensive is not designed to increase employment, despite his claim that the proposed investment tax credit will create more jobs. Its central objective is to increase the competitiveness of U. S. corporations in world trade. This is to be achieved by freezing wages on one side and stepping up the already existing trend toward speeding up and automating production on the other. Nixon is concerned with selling more U. S. goods, not with the employment situation of workers.

An editorial in the Sept. 4 issue of *Business Week* magazine, entitled "More work for more pay," spelled out the objectives of the capitalists. It began by calling attention to the biggest concern of U. S. industry:

"Between 1965 and 1970, unit labor costs in manufacturing in this country rose 21 percent. In 10 other nations, costs went up no more than 15 percent. These countries account for about three-fifths of the market for U. S. exports. They send into this country four-fifths of its imports of manufactured goods."

What to do about it? *Business Week* states: "There is only one way that labor can get the higher wages it wants: Produce more. And if this means giving up cherished work rules and featherbed practices that restrict output or reduce productive time on the job, labor must accept the fact that inefficiency is a luxury the U. S. cannot afford."

This policy has already been in effect for a long time and was in fact written into the settlement between the rail unions and rail industry this summer. The new "work rules" adopted in the railroad industry have, under the guise of "efficiency" (read: profits), cost hundreds of thousands of jobs in the rails.

But this process is by no means limited to the railroad industry. Typical industry demands were put forward to aluminum workers by the Anaconda company in June. They were summarized in the July issue of *Steel Labor*, monthly magazine of the United Steelworkers:

"There shall be no limits on production by workmen nor restrictions of the full use of tools or equipment.

"There shall be no restrictions, other than may be required by safety regulations, on the number of men assigned to any crew or to any job or service.

"Featherbedding practices are not to be recognized.

"The principle of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay shall be practiced. . . ."

Commenting on the "fair day's work" demand, USW Vice-President Joseph P. Molony stated, "If there is anything clear about that particular proposal, however, there is no mistaking what the entire article would mean—loss of jobs, combination of jobs, speedup, and an end to all past production practices."

One purpose of Nixon's present offensive is to accelerate this process throughout industry.

The speedup drive of U. S. industry coupled with high levels of unemployment that already exist and are increasing emphasize the importance of trade unions demanding a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and full trade-union-scale wages for the unemployed.

A shorter workweek was "discussed" in the recent steelworkers contract negotiations but had no part in the final settlement, exposing steelworkers to the job losses that the USW leaders have warned about.

An effective opposition to Nixon's attack on workers requires a national congress of labor representing those who are most affected by the attack—rank-and-file trade-union members, unorganized and unemployed workers. Such a congress could discuss and adopt proposals for directing the united strength of the labor movement against the wage freeze, unemployment and speedup. High in its list of demands would be: "A 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay! Full union-scale wages for the unemployed!"



"It says here that the corner has been turned"

Miss. strike fights pay cut

By FRANK LOVELL

The Masonite Corporation operates the world's largest hardboard plant in Laurel, Miss., where it has a \$200,000 weekly payroll and dominates the lives of thousands of working people.

Following Nixon's wage-"price" freeze, the Masonite Corporation, by arbitrarily changing its standard of weights and measurements of pulpwood, has in effect reduced the pay of woodcutters in order to make up for the "price freeze."

According to a Sept. 14 news release from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Masonite had been using a scaled stick to measure wood by the cubic foot, but on Sept. 1 the company put weight scales in its yard. The wood producers say this meant a cut of 20 to 25 percent in their

earnings because they had to supply 1,900 more pounds in each unit of wood. They are paid \$20 a unit, and often have as many as three and four units on a truck. When the men protested about the new way to measure the units of wood, company officials ran them off the property.

As a result, since Sept. 1, 200 members of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association have refused to deliver wood to Masonite's hardboard plant. They hope the present supply of wood will be depleted by the end of September, forcing the plant to close down or revise its pricing policy.

About 60 percent of the strikers are Black and according to James Simmons, GPA president, "There is strong unity among Black and white cutters and that will be a big factor in any victory in this dispute."

The GPA represents thousands of woodcutters and owners of scrub timberland from which wood is cut for paper and hardboard plants across the South.

The strikers have formed a committee to seek support from workers in the Masonite plant, who are members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), an AFL-CIO union.

The Masonite management has a long anti-union record. In 1967, it provoked a strike of Local 5-443 of the IWA. The strike began with the firing of a shop steward on April 21 and ended after seven and a half months on Dec. 12. The company effectively pitted Black and white workers against each other, smashed the strike, and dictated the terms of settlement.

The following interview with William Gaiter, head of the BUILD organization in Buffalo and a participant on the observer committee during the Attica prison rebellion, was obtained by Militant reporter Derrick Morrison on Sept. 16, four days after the rebellion was crushed.

BUILD (Build Unity Independence Liberty Dignity) is an action organization encompassing 150 organizations in the Buffalo Black and Puerto Rican communities. As director of BUILD, Gaiter received many phone calls from relatives of Attica inmates right after the rebellion started. He went down to see what was happening and was subsequently placed on the observer committee—the medium through which the inmates tried to arrange negotiations with state and prison authorities.

Militant: Could you describe what happened during the negotiations in terms of the organization of the prisoners and how they treated the hostages, their demands, their discussions? In a sense, the observer panel was the only link between the prisoners and the outside.

Gaiter: That is right. The observer committee was the only on-the-spot communication that the inmates had with the outside world.

I was very much impressed when we went down Friday night about 10 o'clock. It was my first time in "D" Block yard. I was impressed with the security mechanism that they had set up. I was impressed with the attitude of the inmates in terms of how they handled the whole situation.

They had a council of approximately 11 men, and they were sitting at the head of the table. We sat on the other side of the table between them and the rest of the inmates.

We were generally informed and instructed just what it was they wanted us to do. They read the list of demands and said they wanted us to take the list of demands back to (New York State Commissioner of "Corrections") Oswald and set up an arrangement for him to negotiate.

Prior to going down, we had been told by Oswald that he would not go into the yard again. I understand that he had been down a couple times Thursday and he was quite shaken. He decided that he would not go down again. The man was just scared to death.

But after being down in the block a while, my apprehension and tension was relieved. I began to feel related to the people there. They made it very clear to us that they did not intend for us to negotiate their demands, but simply to relay the demands, interpret them, and to make provisions for negotiations between them and the prison authorities.

Militant: What was the composition of the prisoner committee in terms of Black, white and Puerto Rican?

Gaiter: The council was made up of approximately one white, two or three Puerto Rican brothers, and the rest were Black. The makeup of the prison population was probably similar—80-85 percent Black, 10 percent Puerto Rican and 5 percent white.

Militant: So the discussions between the observer committee and the council were in full view of the inmates?

Gaiter: Oh, yes, the inmates were sitting in the area right behind us, so that they heard everything—they used loudspeakers—and they saw everything that took place.

When Brother Richard read the list of demands to us, he made it very clear to the inmates and to us that they were not his demands but the inmates' demands, and the inmates ratified this by proclaiming with loud "yeas" whenever it was appropriate. Like he'd say, "When do you want

this demand?" And they'd say, "Now!" If it was a demand that needed legislation, like the minimum wage law, they said, "Well, we realize that this is going to take some legislation, but we want it."

We took the message back upstairs, and we talked to Oswald. He had already told the committee that he would not negotiate the ouster of Mancusi nor the complete amnesty. But we began to try to put together the proposals that the state said it would agree to so that we could take it back down to the inmates.

We stayed there in a room in the administrative building until about 3 a.m.

We were supposed to be back at 10 o'clock the next morning. Some of us got there at 10 and didn't get in until after 12 and finally met with the inmates at around 9:30 that night. We were supposed to have met with the inmates between 11 and 12 noon.

At that time, I think most of us on the observer committee first felt the true impact of the determination that

Gaiter: Some of the names I never did get. But the one person who really emerged as the leader was Brother Richard. This is all we ever called him. There was another, Brother Herbie. There was another leader that they called Champ. There was a white brother, I don't remember his name. There was a Puerto Rican brother who spoke for the Puerto Rican faction of the council.

Militant: Did they elaborate on some of the demands?

Gaiter: They elaborated on each of the demands. For instance, adequate food. That's a basic necessity, they said. And we had to agree.

In terms of the ombudsman, that was not really one of their demands. This was something that was thrown in by the committee. We felt that after the rebellion there was going to be a need for some monitoring of what was taking place there in terms of how the inmates were going to be treated because of the rebellion. And

tions have to be brought to an end."

You can imagine what this did to the committee. We knew we had to go back and tell the prison officials just the way we saw it and heard it.

Militant: So what happened?

Gaiter: After the Saturday meeting, we came back upstairs and faced the situation for what it really was. There was no way that the prisoners were going to agree to the proposal without the amnesty and the ouster of Mancusi. And it appeared that there was no way we could get Oswald to discuss these things.

When we got back Sunday, we began to wrack our brains to find a solution. We decided that the solution was Rockefeller. We thought that he could break the impasse.

About 3 p.m. they began to intensify the activity outside our room. We could see parts of the cellblocks and all the area in front where the state troopers were hanging around. We could only see the tops of the building. We immediately got on the phone to call the governor. Tom Wicker, Clarence Jones, and Congressman Badillo talked to the governor and pleaded with him to come. Tom Wicker of the Times almost broke into tears. We were left with the impression that his advisors might change their position which was that he shouldn't come.

We never heard from the governor, but we learned from the prison officials that a statement was made by the governor. We felt that the plea we made to the governor prevented them from attack on Sunday. Badillo told the governor, "You can't possibly think about doing this on Sunday afternoon. Everybody is going to be at home watching television and listening to the radio, you can't possibly do this on Sunday afternoon. You need time, we need time. You need time to alarm the mayors. Whatever happens, there will be repercussions throughout New York State. You've got to talk to the mayors, to the president."

Suddenly, everything got quiet Sunday afternoon. When we got the message that the governor wasn't coming, we discussed sending a delegation to see him. We decided against it. For one thing, we weren't sure whether the governor would see us. And some of us felt that if we publicized that we were going, it would make him think he didn't have to talk to the inmates, he just could talk to the committee and we'd pass the word on to the inmates.

About 11:30 Sunday night we decided that half of the committee would stay and half would leave. We asked Oswald when the attack was coming—since he had issued an ultimatum that day. He wouldn't tell us, but finally he told us to come back in the morning, making us think that he wouldn't attack before morning, but nevertheless we decided not to take a chance. Half of us stayed, I was one of them.

The next morning about 7 a.m. they said that we would not be allowed into the cellblock or to talk to Oswald. Then they claimed they would keep us informed. Finally at 8:20 a.m. they said they had given the inmates an hour to surrender. At 8:50 they said that the inmates had asked for a few minutes to talk it over. They said they had given them until 9:00 a.m. At 9:00, they started, but we didn't see what was going on except a helicopter dropping the gas and the men on top of the buildings and walls. We heard the loudspeaker instructing the inmates to surrender and put their hands behind their heads and surrender the hostages. We saw the sharpshooters from some of the towers taking shots at the yard. We didn't know what was happening.

About noon we were ordered to leave.

Militant: How do you assess the after-
Continued on page 22

Inside Attica: Interview with Black member of observer committee



Part of prisoners' negotiating team at Attica

the inmates had in terms of getting redress to these demands. They took the list, the proposal that we brought down, and they told us that it was no good. That it was a sellout. That if they accepted it they would be selling out not only themselves, but brothers in prisons all over this country.

They were not saying we had sold them out. They were saying that if they agreed to the list they would be selling out.

Brother Richard and the other leaders of the rebellion told us that without (prison superintendent) Mancusi out and without the amnesty, the rest of the proposals didn't mean a thing. Because if Mancusi was there after this thing was over, he would simply start beating their heads like he had before. This was the key. And amnesty was key so that whoever came in behind Mancusi could not begin to harass them and punish them for having participated in the rebellion.

Militant: Could you describe some of the leaders on the council?

we demanded that there be an ombudsman program set up to follow up on the implementation of the demands.

Militant: What about the inmates committee that was demanded?

Gaiter: That is simply a grievance committee. They wanted to be able to have their representatives sit down with the administration every three months to discuss grievances—which seemed to me to be a very reasonable demand.

The whole thing boiled down to amnesty and Mancusi.

Negotiations lasted until about 12:00 p.m. Saturday night. At the end, Brother Richard told us—I'll remember this as long as I live: "Honored members of the committee, I want you to understand this very clearly. We understand that you have worked hard and given up sleep and rest, but you're going to work harder. You're going to work harder because we're determined, and we believe that you believe as we do, that these condi-

Thousands join Attica protests

By LEE SMITH

SEPT. 21—Thousands of people all over the U.S. have joined in demonstrations and meetings organized in response to the brutal murders committed at Attica by the government. More actions are planned in many areas.

● Over 4,000 persons took part in two separate actions in New York City Sept. 18—a march and rally in Harlem of over 3,000 and a march from Union Square in Lower Manhattan to Rockefeller Plaza of over 1,000.

The Harlem action was called by a broad united front, including the Young Lords Party, the Black Panther Party, the Harlem Youth Federation, The East, the Puerto Rican Student Union, the Republic of New Africa, the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Young Workers Liberation League.

Two feeder marches, one beginning in the Bronx and another at the intersection of 110th Street and Fifth Avenue, converged in a mass rally at the intersection of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue.

Speakers at the Harlem rally included Juan Ortiz of the Young Lords Party, who was on the observers committee at Attica; Tom Soto of Youth Against War and Fascism's prisoner solidarity committee, who was also on the observers committee; Charles Kenyatta; Denise Oliver of the Black Panther Party (BPP); Kwando Kinshasa of the BPP; William Kunstler; and others, among them a former Attica inmate and the wife of an inmate.

The march from Union Square to Rockefeller Plaza was called by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and other groups. The PCPJ has called another demonstration at the state capitol in Albany Sept. 23.

Members of New York's Gay Activists Alliance put out a leaflet urging gays to join the Sept. 23 Albany action.

A broad coalition of groups is building a massive teach-in meeting on Attica at New York University Sept. 22. Some of the scheduled speakers are Derrick Morrison, *Militant* staff writer, who was outside the prison when the massacre took place; William Kunstler; Louis Steel of the National Lawyers Guild, who was on the observers committee; and Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

● Actions occurred on many campuses in Upstate New York, including Albany, Binghamton, Buffalo and Syracuse. The largest actions were in Buffalo where up to 4,000 demonstrated on the University of Buffalo campus.

A mass meeting of 400 at the State University of New York Sept. 15, organized by the Black Student Union, the YSA and the Broom County Committee for Prison Reform, voted to march to the courthouse in Binghamton Sept. 16. About 500 participated in the march and rally the following day.

● In San Francisco, 200 persons demonstrated in protest of George Jackson's murder and the Attica Massacre Sept. 17. Among the speakers at the protest were Philip Ryan, an attorney for the Soledad Brothers; Inez Williams, Fleeta Drumgo's mother; "Popeye" Jackson of the United Prisoners Union (UPU); and Jeff Berchenko, SWP candidate for Board of Supervisors.

Jackson and another UPU representative, Pat Woods, joined Nat Weinstein, SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco, on the platform of the Militant Labor Forum in that city on the evening of Sept. 17. Woods spoke about women prisoners; Jackson related the history of the UPU, which was founded in March 1971 and has doubled in size in the last three months; and Weinstein related the events at Attica and the whole phenomenon of prison revolts to the general radicalization. Weinstein called the Attica rebellion "one of the great revolutionary events of history."

The UPU has scheduled a mass meeting for Sept. 26 at the Glide Memorial Church at 2:30 p.m.

● In Los Angeles, an Ad Hoc Committee on Prisons and Political Prisoners, including the Angela Davis Defense Committee and the Harriet Tubman bookstore, held a demonstration of 300 at the L.A. federal court building Sept. 14. The Militant Labor Forum in L.A. Sept. 17 heard a discussion of the Attica events by George Davis of the SWP and Don Williams of the Harriet Tubman Prison Movement.

● A mass memorial action has been called in Chicago for Oct. 2 at the Cook County Jail by a coalition including the Harrisburg Defense Committee, the Chicago Peace Council, the Chicago Peace Action Coalition, the SWP, YSA and other groups.

The Sept. 24 Chicago Militant Labor

Forum is scheduled to be a panel on Attica including Rev. George E. Reddick of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket, Bea Stewart of Women Mobilize for Change, Samuel 17X of the Muslims, and Fred Halstead of the SWP.

An ad hoc protest took place in Chicago Sept. 18 with a march of about 50 persons from the federal building to the civic center.

● About 50 students from Florida State University picketed the Federal Correctional Institute in Tallahassee Sept. 19 supporting the Attica prisoners' demands.

● Four hundred people demonstrated outside the JFK Building in Boston on Sept. 15 at a rally called by PCPJ. A united front meeting is scheduled to hear Derrick Morrison at Boston College on the evening of Sept. 23.

Earlier on Sept. 23, Morrison will be speaking at two rallies in Philadelphia—one at Temple University at noon and another at West Philadelphia High School at 2:30 p.m.

Morrison will be in Austin and Houston, Texas, for meetings Sept. 24.

● About 50 persons protested outside the Justice Department building in Washington, D.C., Sept. 16 in an action called by PCPJ. Keith Jones, SWP candidate for D.C. School Board, issued a statement Sept. 16 calling the Attica rebellion part of the self-determination struggle of the whole Black nation.

● The Militant Labor Forum in Cleveland Sept. 24 is scheduled to hear a panel on the Attica Massacre, including John Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor; Stanley Toliver, an attorney; Eddie Collier from Black Unity House; and a representative of the Puerto Rican Youth Center.

● The Seattle Militant Labor Forum Sept. 24 will be a discussion of Attica and the prison revolts by Mike Kelly of the SWP and Armando Mendoza, a former prison inmate.

● Two actions are scheduled in Detroit for Sept. 23. A demonstration at Highland Park Community College has been called by the Black Student United Front and Black Moratorium. An action downtown the same day is sponsored by the NAACP, the Black Panther Party, SCLC, the Republic of New Africa, and other organizations.

A Sept. 24 Militant Labor Forum in Detroit will hear James Ingram, reporter for the *Michigan Chronicle*, a Black newspaper, who covered the Attica rebellion for the paper; Maceo Dixon of the SWP; and Elliott Hall, an attorney for a number of prisoners in Detroit jails.

● A memorial action honoring the victims of the Attica Massacre in Worcester, Mass., Sept. 18 was joined in by members of the Worcester Black Coalition, which called the action; the Asociación Latina Progreso y Acción (Latin Association for Progress and Action); and the YSA.

● A demonstration outside the Minneapolis courthouse Sept. 14, protesting the Attica murders.

● The new semester at the University of Wisconsin in Madison began Sept. 15 with a militant march supporting the Attica inmates. The march from the campus to the state department of corrections involved 500 students. It was organized by the Afro-American Center, Women's Action Movement, Gay Women's Collective, SMC, YSA and others.

● A broadly sponsored meeting at the University of California, Berkeley, is scheduled to protest the Attica Massacre Sept. 30. Scheduled speakers include representatives of the United Prisoners Union, MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan), as well as other organizations.

Socialist campaigns seek prison visits

By HUGH MORGAN

In the wake of the bloody assault on the Attica inmates ordered by Governor Rockefeller, Socialist Workers Party candidates in Philadelphia, Houston and Atlanta embarked on campaigns to investigate prison conditions in the areas where they are seeking office.

On Sept. 20, one week after the Attica massacre, Jean Savage, SWP candidate for mayor of Philadelphia; Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for sheriff; Sal Mastriano, SWP candidate for City Council; and Carol Lisker, Philadelphia SWP campaign manager paid a surprise visit to Holmesburg prison to inspect the facilities and talk to the inmates.

Patrick Curran, the warden, told the SWP delegation the time was "inopportune" for their visit. The four then demanded to see Superintendent Hendricks. Hendricks refused to see them or give any explanation for not allowing them to see the prison. Instead, he called the cops who asked the candidates to leave.

The four intended to return Sept. 24, accompanied by the press to see that their rights to talk to prisoners—and the rights of those prisoners who wish to talk to them—are not violated.

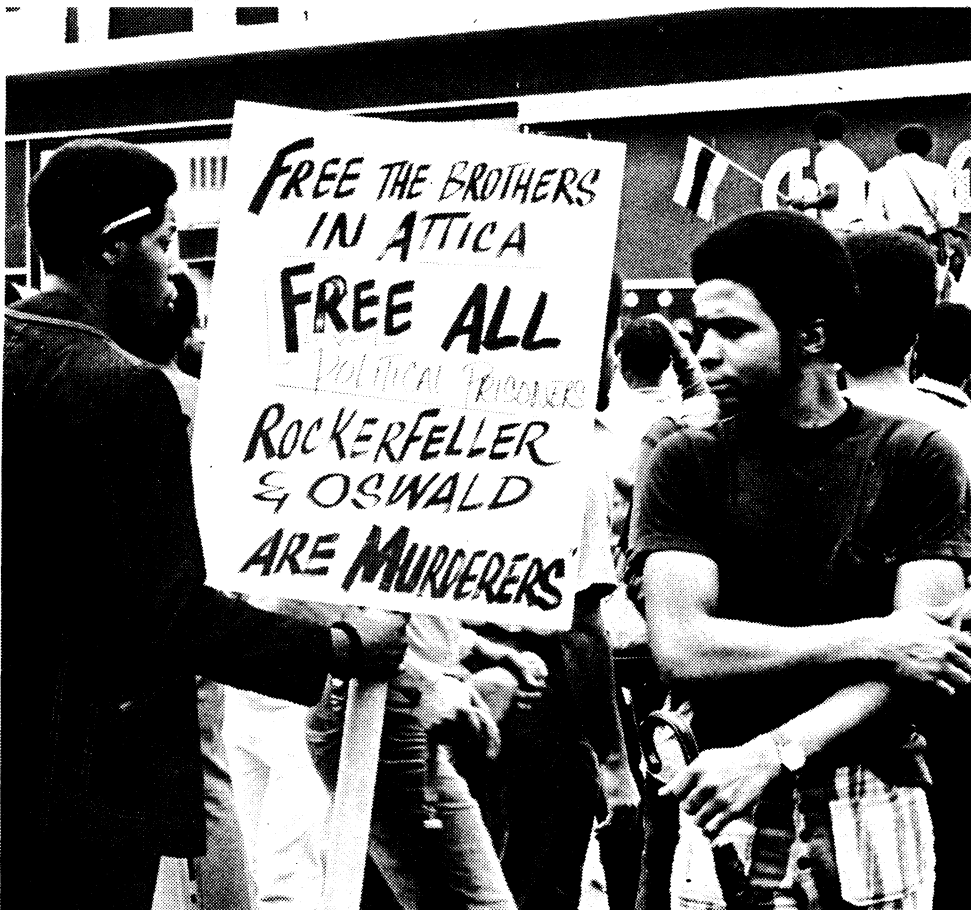
The Philadelphia SWP campaign, according to Lisker, plans in the coming weeks "to wage a two-pronged campaign. First, we will be making surprise visits to all of the jails and prisons. Second, we will attempt to secure the rights of all the prisoners awaiting trial to vote in the upcoming election." "All prisoners should have the right to vote," Savage said, "whether they have been convicted or not—and 53 percent of those in jail today in the U.S. have not been convicted! We want voting booths in the prisons in the coming elections, and we want someone from our campaign staff there to observe."

Houston SWP candidate for mayor Debby Leonard and Tank Barrera, SWP candidate for school board, held a news conference outside the Houston City Jail Sept. 16 after city officials refused them permission to inspect conditions and interview prisoners there.

Leonard said, "We are here to protest and condemn the massacre of Black prisoners at Attica, and we are here because, as candidates for office and citizens of Houston, we have been refused permission to inspect the city jail."

Alice Conner, the SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Georgia, and Frank Grinnon, SWP candidate for Congress from Georgia's Fifth District, demanded that they be allowed to visit the Fulton County Stockade in Atlanta, where prisoners recently staged a two-day demonstration protesting censorship and overcrowding.

In a joint statement issued Sept. 16, the two candidates said, "Our investigation will not be a passive one; anywhere and everywhere that we find the civil and human rights of prisoners being violated, we will make their struggle a part of our campaign."



Protesters at demonstration in Harlem Sept. 18

Photo by Candida McCollam

Why Attica exploded



Attica rebels come out to meet observers during uprising

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

In the few short days since the rebellion at Attica was brutally crushed on Sept. 13, thousands of articles have already been written about the prisons in this so-called free society. And volumes more will be written in the weeks and months to come as countless politicians, journalists and professors of sociology and criminology try to explain—often vainly—the roots of the "problems" with the "correctional system."

The most reactionary and racist commentators simply attempt to justify the Attica Massacre with the assertion that the men caged up there are criminals—i.e. guilty of acts defined as crimes by our "free" society. They are, therefore, not like "other people." They are "uncivilized," "antisocial," and if they are treated like animals, it is because they are, after all, sub-human.

But millions of other Americans were struck by the elementary justice of the demands for which the Attica rebels were willing even to die. They were stunned by the brutal inhumanity of the murderous state officials. And they are trying to understand what happened at Attica.

One of the recurring topics in the post-Attica commentary on the prisons has been the "new mood" in the prisons, the emergence of a supposedly new kind of inmate. As Steven V. Roberts of the *New York Times* commented Sept. 19: "A 'movement' paralleling those that have arisen in recent years among Blacks, students and women has now begun to emerge in the nation's prisons."

Everyone is in agreement that while Attica and San Quentin are the visible tip of the iceberg, they are in no way unique. All over the country, Roberts comments, inmates "are making speeches, demanding meetings, and occasionally calling strikes."

"They saw the welfare groups organize, the students, the Blacks organize for their rights. . . . There's much more awareness that to orga-

nize is the way to go," explained the obviously worried director of "corrections" in Michigan, Gus Harrison. The single most important reason, he added, is the general concern throughout society for more individual rights and self-determination.

Richard R. Korn, a former professor of criminology at the University of California (Berkeley), describing the particular oppressiveness of a maximum security prison and the way victims react to it, observed in the Sept. 19 *New York Times*: "more and more (prisoners) are organizing politically and their political organizing is bringing them closer to the one objective prison administrators most dread: militant unity."

Roberts' article commented that prisons are a kind of university for political education. "The 'sacred texts' of Black revolution—Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, George Jackson's *Soledad Brother*—are treasured like gold. In Auburn prison in New York, such books rent for a pack of cigarettes a night. In Jackson, inmates circulate typed manuscripts of those that are banned."

An ex-inmate at Attica recently told a *Militant* correspondent that among the many classes organized by the prisoners there was a class based on typed copies of Ernest Mandel's "Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory." The book, in typed manuscript form, was circulating in all four of the cellblocks at Attica, he said.

In the last year, Pathfinder Publishers has received close to 50 literature orders from Attica prison alone, covering titles like Malcolm X's *By Any Means Necessary*, James P. Cannon's *Socialism on Trial*, Trotsky's *Fascism: What It Is and How To Fight It*, *The Essential Works of Lenin*, Etheridge Knight's *Black Voices from Prison*, and George Breitman's *How a Minority Can Change Society*.

There were six *Militant* subscribers in Attica at the time of the rebellion.

Revolutionary developments

A number of aspects of this new political consciousness, militancy and unity are especially significant, pointing towards the deeply revolutionary implications of what is happening in the prisons today. Many of the observers on the scene at Attica commented on the militant class solidarity of the rebels, on the unity in struggle between Black, Puerto Rican and white rebels, and the apparent absence of racial conflict among them. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker commented with obvious astonishment: "That prison yard was the first place I have ever seen where there was no racism."

But equally significant was the fact that it was unity under predominately Black leadership. The composition of the leadership reflected not only the prisons of this country, the reality of race and class oppression, but the depth of the Black radicalization as well.

Figures are not readily available on the race composition of the nearly 200,000 prisoners in state and federal institutions, but they are available for some prisons and some states. In New York City, for example, roughly 70 percent are Black, 20 percent Puerto Rican and 10 percent white. For New York State as a whole, 1970 statistics showed 52 percent Black, 13 percent Puerto Rican, and 35 percent white. At Attica, a maximum security prison for those the authorities deem "hostile to prison administration," the percentages ran more like 85 percent Black, 10 percent Puerto Rican, and 5 percent white.

Such figures reflect the reality of class justice in America. If you are young and Black and are convicted of any petty crime, you may well get life. If you're rich and white and own half of Venezuela you can order the murder of 40 people and receive the thanks of the president of the United States.

To pick one small example, an Illinois banker, Irving Projansky, was

recently sentenced to one year in prison after being convicted of a \$4-million stock fraud. George Jackson got life—and ultimately death—for a \$70 gas station holdup he never committed.

In the aftermath of Attica, Howard University law professor Herbert O. Reid told *New York Times* reporter C. Gerald Fraser, "Certainly for Blacks, that as far as any notion of prison and punishment being a stigma, we are losing that because of the number of Black prisoners. We're beginning to think that if you haven't been (in prison) there's something wrong with you. Going in is no big thing."

Such is the growing realization, especially in the Black community, that prisoners are the real victims of this society. One must look outside the prisons for the criminals.

The prisons contain many of the most conscious, articulate and courageous spokespersons of Black liberation, and they will unquestionably lead the struggle inside the prisons just as they have led on the streets. It was precisely their rebellion against this racist, capitalist society which led to their imprisonment in the first place. As one Black ex-prisoner expressed it succinctly: "Blacks go to prison for messing with white society."

Attica racism

The totally racist mentality of many of the guards was depicted in dozens of stories surrounding the Attica rebellion. Numerous observers noted that every single guard at Attica is white.

Reporters detailed the treatment given newsmen and women, observers, relatives and others who congregated in Attica during the rebellion. The Tipperary Bar across the street from the prison closed for the week when several Black members of the observers committee went in for a drink. Black and Puerto Rican observers were refused accommodations at motels. "A curfew, aimed at 'outsiders and civil rights workers,' according to the mayor (who is a prison guard), was enforced by civilians carrying hunting rifles who stationed themselves at the main intersections," according to the Sept. 15 *Washington Post*.

The same article observed that "to many people in the town of Attica, the word 'nigger' was interchangeable with 'inmate,' and when the list of freed hostages was read outside the prison Monday morning, it was greeted with loud shouts of 'white power' from one of the waiting guards."

Perhaps the real mentality of those who ride herd on the prison inmates was revealed most gruesomely in the story of the post-massacre revelry.

"On Monday night, after the prison rebellion had been put down, some of (the troopers) traded stories of their parts in it," wrote *New York Times* reporter Francis X. Cline in the Sept. 17 issue of that paper. "The talk in the barroom at the Holiday Inn in Batavia was heavy with memories of warlike darts and thrusts into embattled cellblocks, and through the rebels 'tent city' in the yard."

"The feeling of the troopers seemed then to be one of relief and relaxation, as glasses clinked over the songs of the bar's entertainer, who at one point stared quietly at the drinkers and then sang: 'The Green, Green Grass of Home,' a song written by a

ded

convict about a Death Row inmate's fantasy of dying."

While some 40 bodies lay in the morgues, and as many as 300 more human beings lay wounded in the cell-blocks of Attica (prison officials still claim "only" 83 wounded), the murderers ate, drank and made merry. Against such a backdrop, the repeated assertions of the rebels that they were simply demanding their rights as human beings takes on its full force.

As Brother Richard (Richard Clark) put it during one of the long nights in the yard of Cellblock D, explaining that it was the guards and troopers outside who had the bullets and the machine guns, and the inmates who were safeguarding the lives of the hostages—"We are the only civilized men here."

What next?

The overwhelmingly Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano population of the prisons; the all-pervading, institutionalized and brutal racist mentality of the prison authorities; the growing political radicalization within the concrete walls—all these facts have been widely recognized and analyzed.

Some observers have also predicted what is obviously on the order of the day—a growing battle for the extension of the civil and human rights of prisoners. While there have been prison revolts since prisons themselves came into existence along with class society, it is unquestionable that the increasing numbers of politically aware inmates will spearhead a drive for political freedom within those walls. The American prison system can never be quite the same again following Soledad, San Quentin and Attica.

But it is also true that there will almost certainly be more Atticas.

Those who foresee more revolts and bloody reprisals are usually arguing for faster prison reform measures and fearing—correctly—that they will not come rapidly enough. Such reforms are vitally necessary. Every improvement in the physical surroundings, every victory that gains a few more human and civil rights for society's victims will help make life just that much more bearable for them. But even the most humane prison is still a prison, and the most fundamental reason there will be more Atticas stems from the very function of prisons in this capitalist society.

Such revolts will re-occur so long as men and women are put behind bars for disobeying the inhuman laws of this society and struggling against its inequities—that is, as long as capitalism remains intact.

What does this society define as a crime? Almost all "crimes" are acts which violate the sacred right of private property upon which class society rests—the right of the few to control and benefit from wealth that belongs to all. "Crimes" are acts which break rules set up to guarantee the rights of a small handful, their rights to condemn the masses of humanity to misery, exploitation, disease, starvation and death—if it is profitable. The fact that the targets of "criminal" acts are most often the poor themselves only attests to the success of the rulers in setting the victims of class society to prey upon each other. Even murder, rape and other "crimes of violence" can ultimately be traced, al-

Continued on page 22

Attica victim's family tells of cruel treatment

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, Sept. 20—When the bodies of the victims of the Attica Massacre were brought to the medical examiner's office in Rochester Sept. 14, the dead guards and civilian workers had their names attached whereas the dead inmates had tags tied to their toes, labeled P-1, P-2, P-3, and so on.

This categorization of the inmates as unpersons—a theme running throughout the news media and the pronouncements of capitalist politicians—did not just stop there but was extended to their relatives and sympathizers as well.

Two particular people who were accorded such treatment were Preston and Alice McNeil. Their son, Lorenzo, 29 years old, was one of the inmates killed at Attica.

I had the opportunity to visit and talk to the McNeils today.

As Alice McNeil related, she first received notice of her son's death on Wednesday, Sept. 15. And this was not from prison authorities, but from an Associated Press reporter who called their home to inquire if they knew yet. Then, on Friday, five days after he had been shot to death, the McNeils finally received a telegram—dated the same day—from the prison officials.

"When this first erupted I started calling (Attica prison) because I was upset and wanted to know what was wrong. But I never got through to them people. It's just like they must have clicked all of their switchboard openings and kept them busy," said Alice McNeil.

Upon getting the news of her son's death, the AP reporter expressed surprise that she hadn't received an official notice. The McNeils subsequently sent an undertaker up to Rochester to arrange for the return of the body. The undertaker had to go through a lot of red tape, but he informed the McNeils that Lorenzo had been shot

five times—once in the ear, temple, side, arm, and chest.

Lorenzo was paroled in 1968 after serving three years of a two-to-five-year sentence for burglary in Brooklyn. He exerted a great effort in trying to secure a job, but repeatedly, when they "found out he had a record," said sister McNeil, "they fired him." She commented, "When these prisoners come out of jail, they talk about rehabilitating them. These people [employers] shouldn't have fear of them. The majority [inmates] want to be able to get out and have a job and make it. They want to be able to live. . . ."

Unable to find a job, Lorenzo began to hang out on the corner. This led to discussions with his parents, whereby he came to the conclusion that it was best to go back and serve the remaining 18 months of his sentence. In this way, he would not be subject to a very long sentence if caught in some inappropriate act on parole.

However, Lorenzo—upon returning—was not put in a lighter institution or some skills-training center. Rather, he was returned to Attica, a maximum-security prison, the one in which he had spent his first three years. "He didn't dream he was going there and neither did we," related Sister McNeil. After his first stint at Attica, Lorenzo described the brutal treatment by guards to his parents. He could not do it in letters because they were censored. So his parents only got an account after he was paroled.

The reentry thus signaled no new beginning, only a continuation of the same.

Sister McNeil was contacted by the Republic of New Africa, Black Panther Party, and Young Lords Party after they heard about his death. The RNA will provide pallbearers at the funeral, which will be held this Wednesday. And the Panther Party and others will attend in tribute.



Vietnam? N. Ireland? No, Attica state prison. Green berets and cops look for booby traps in aftermath of massacre.

'Confined in prison... branded as criminals, they are not defeated.... They are the representatives of an idea that will crack the walls of every prison and crumble them into dust.'
James P. Cannon

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The following are major excerpts from an interview obtained Sept. 14 from Anthony Loftis by John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston. Loftis, an inmate at the Massachusetts Correctional Institute at Norfolk, saw Powers on television and asked him to visit the prison.

Powers: First, could you tell us where you're from and what you're doing here?

Loftis: I was born and raised in Boston. I'm 25 now, and practically from the time I was 11 years old I've been in and out of trouble. From 15 on up, I've been in and out of reform schools. This is my first prison stay. I guess because I've been in so much trouble, maybe that's why I got so much time, but still, I feel it's unjust.

I guess it all started back in 1968, when I was released from Concord, and three months after I was out of jail I got in some trouble. I went to trial and everything, and they wanted to give me another state prison bit, and I jumped bail on that. And ever since then I've been on the run for about two years. I've been supporting myself by hustling and mostly breaking and entering. And one time I got a breaking and entering charge and I got all shot up. I stayed in a hospital for about two months trying to recover, and when I got out I went to court and they gave me 12-15 years.

While I was awaiting trial, I had another warrant come down on me. It was another breaking and entering which I didn't know anything about. I've been going back and forth to court since October on up until July of this year. The jury found me guilty, with hardly any evidence, and they sentenced me to 20 to 30 years and five to 10 years running concurrent with that.

I felt that it was unjust, because I'm not the only one who has gotten an excessive sentence like that for the crime that they've done. There are other Black inmates in here who have gotten longer sentences than that for minor crimes. There are guys in here that are doing real big time.

So I intended to do something about that when I came here, and I joined the ACT committee. That's the group of inmates formed from the Black population and the white population who act upon the grievances that the inmates have, and their time. We have a pre-release program, plus we have a research committee—which I'm undertaking now—surveying all the inmates in the camp to show how much time the Black man is getting from the courts nowadays, compared to the white man. We haven't surveyed the white inmates here yet, but we surveyed most of the Black. And their time is really ridiculous.

Powers: Do you have trouble getting literature here? Would some of the inmates be interested in receiving some books by Malcolm X? And socialism?

Loftis: We have books by Malcolm X—we have a Black library. But still we need more books. There are not enough books up to par. The brothers have read just about everything.

Powers: Do you have any idea of the percentage of Blacks in this prison?

Loftis: The percentage here is about one-third now.

Powers: What is it like here; is this a state prison?

Loftis: Yes, it's a state prison colony. This is supposed to be a model prison. It's like a camp here. We've got houses; we sleep in rooms, with doors like these here. You have your own bed, television, radio in your room.

Powers: You said in your letter that you wanted speedier trials.

Loftis: Yes, I'm trying to get back into court now on a motion I filed, because my constitutional rights were violated by the excessive time they gave me. My lawyer requested a mistrial because they brought me into the court with handcuffs on in front of the jury. The judge denied the mistrial.

Powers: How long does a trial take?

Loftis: I know some real quick railroad trials. My first sentence I had down in Concord only took one day. I went to a district court, and they sentenced me to five years in Concord for a larceny of \$100. I didn't have a lawyer or anything then.

Powers: Do you have trouble getting a lawyer?

Loftis: It's not the trouble getting a lawyer—the problem is the court-appointed lawyer that they give out. These lawyers get paid either way, whether they win the case or not. The only thing they tell you to do is cop out and try to get your life sentence. And really, it's not up to them; it's up to the DA and the judge.

Powers: Have you been studying law yourself?

Loftis: I've been to a law class here for about six months now, and I got a diploma last May.

Powers: Does that help you at all?

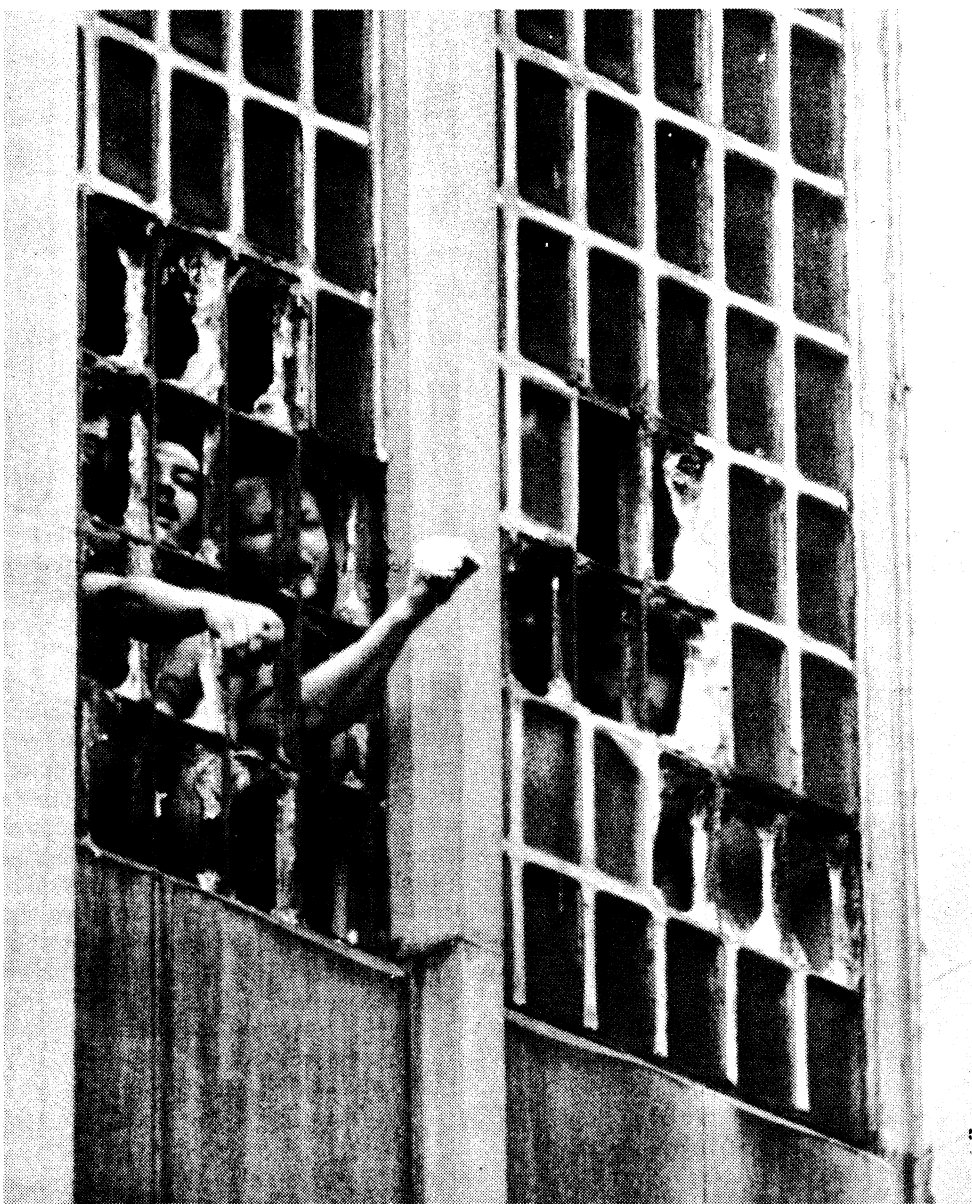
Loftis: Yes, a little bit. I find I can understand it better.

Powers: Do you have grievances other than the excessive sentences, which I suppose heads the list?

Loftis: We have a lot of grievances.

A Militant Interview

'If it were left to me, there would be no prisons at all.'



Prisoners in "The Tombs," New York Men's House of Detention

George Jackson on the role of prisons

Tad Szulc, Washington Bureau correspondent of the New York Times, interviewed Soledad Brother George Jackson in San Quentin prison last April. He subsequently submitted four additional questions to Jackson through one of the lawyers in the case. The questions were: 1) Aren't any Black people guilty of crimes in American society? 2) Aren't any of them criminals—for example, a Black man who rapes or murders a Black woman? 3) What about a Black man who guns down a Black Panther? 4) Are you really saying that all criminals are victims of society? Jackson's written response, dated June 11, 1971, appeared together with an article by Szulc in the Aug. 1, 1971, issue of the New York Times Magazine. Jackson stated:

Nat Turner was asked to confess to crimes of murder and other connected charges before being hung. He indicated that he would so that he could seize the opportunity to make public these sentiments: "I've been asked to confess . . . to what??? I simply don't feel guilty, I have ventured my life for the deliverance of my kind, I am a willing sacrifice to their cause. I have failed, and if you gentlemen would render me a favor, you would take me out and hang me immediately." Another pointed example of how Blacks view what the interpreters of society term crime can be had by recalling a later (1850) statement accredited to Martin Delaney: ". . . my house is my castle. If any man approaches my house in search of a slave, I care not whom he may be, whether constable or sheriff, mag-

istrate or even judge of the Supreme Court. If he crosses the threshold of my door and I do not lay him a lifeless corpse at my feet, I hope the grave may refuse my body a resting place." Fugitive slaves were criminals!! Anyone offering them aid was also considered part of the criminal act, according to the accepted standards of so-termed Amerikan society. These are parallels from history, valuable in that they have undoubted relevance upon the ingrained attitudes of two sections of the people whose real interrelations have changed in name and form only.

The question "Aren't any Black people guilty of crimes in Amerikan society?" can best be answered by stating that the first crime is attempting to establish society above society, and then seriously questioning whether

Some of the things that go on here are not a physical cruelty, it's like a mental and abusive cruelty. The inmates—not just the Blacks but the whites too—are subjected to this mental cruelty that is passed down by the guards that work here. If they can't get you one way, they'll get you another way. Like, if they can't lock you up for something that you've done, they'll pick on you while you're walking around the quarter or out in the yard or something, or shake down your room, or make you tuck your shirt in. We're not allowed to walk around the quarter with our shirttails hanging out. Things like that, petty things.

Powers: Where do most of the guards come from?

Loftis: Most of them, I think, come from the service. Since I've been here I've seen a lot of young guards coming in, and gradually it's changing. You see more guards coming in that are more with the action. By this I mean they know that the inmates are doing time, and the inmates do not want to be bothered with petty harassment, and they don't bother them. It's mostly the old ones that have about 20 or 30 years in—maybe only five or 10 years in—that really bug the inmates. But I see it gradually changing with the younger officers coming in.

Powers: What are the majority of people here in for?

Loftis: The majority here are in for murder, assault and battery, rape, violent crimes, and drugs.

Powers: What about the people who are here for drugs, are they here for possession?

Loftis: They're here for possession, sale, being in the presence. A guy here is doing five years for having one joint of marijuana.

Powers: What's the average sentence for possession?

Loftis: About five to 10 years. The least I've heard is three to five years.

Powers: Could you estimate what percentage of crimes are done by people who use drugs? And how many of the younger guys would you say have been over in Vietnam?

Loftis: I would say about 35 percent of the guys here were on drugs. And the guys from Vietnam, there's a whole lot of them.

Powers: Do they talk about the war here?

Loftis: We have a lot of talk about the war. Mostly from the veterans. They don't like what's going on. And they don't like how guys from the war

come back home and can't get jobs. The first thing they do is turn to the streets for their livelihood. And they get busted.

It's really rough the way they're taking it. They go over there and they get shell-shocked and everything, and then they come back here, they pull a crime and get busted.

Powers: Are a large number of those Vietnam vets drug convictions?

Loftis: I'd say about half of them. Some of them are here for murder, which I feel myself is really stupid, because they go to war, and the only thing they're taught is how to kill somebody, and then they come back home and they're not rehabilitated to the life of the society. So somebody says something wrong to them and funny things can happen—they hurt somebody when they don't mean to do it. And they get a life sentence—or they might as well have life with all the time they get.

Powers: Is there anything going on in the so-called "rehabilitation" here? Are people getting job training, or are they taught to do things like shoe horses?

Loftis: I think if we were taught to shoe horses, that would be much better than what we're taught now. There's a vocational training program going on that they just started building a few months back. They're building vocation rooms in there for dentistry and electrical courses, computer programming, things like that.

A lot of inmates are signed up for it. They have a college program coming in. They take college entrance exams here.

But the other shops that we have here are a cement shop, a shop where they make dustpans and shovels, and an outside maintenance crew, cleaning up around here. They have kitchens. But the jobs they have here are nothing where a guy could learn something.

Powers: How much do you get paid for this type of work?

Loftis: The ratings are A, B, and C. The A man makes 50 cents a day; the B man makes 35; and the C man makes 25 cents a day.

Powers: How many hours do you work?

Loftis: Eight hours a day.

Powers: So what happens when you get released, and all you've done is these jobs here? Do you have to have a job on the outside?

Loftis: Some cases they let you go without a job, but I don't think I've heard any yet where the guy goes up and they say well, we'll waive the job, you can go out to your home.

It's usually mandatory that you have a job.

Powers: How about the percentage of guys who get convicted again, is it real high?

Loftis: I think it is very high.

Powers: What about the parole situation in this state? Is it very hard to get parole?

Loftis: Right now it seems to me that it's very hard to get a parole. The guys I've seen going up have been getting postponements for a year, action pending, because something outside isn't right, their job isn't right or their home, so they have to wait three or four months overdue before they get out.

Powers: Has there been much talk about the Attica events?

Loftis: Yes, very much. I think that's all that's really buzzing around the camp now. All of the guys I know are saying, "What do you think about this Attica thing?"

And myself, I think that the prisoners really got a raw deal out of it.

Powers: Were you able to get much information here?

Loftis: Yes, we watched television and read the papers.

Powers: Do you think that the fact that the guards came in and shot people, that that scared people here?

Loftis: I think it shook up a lot of the guards here. Because they know that now the inmates—both Black and white—are not going to stand by and do time and be harassed without some kind of kickback. There's a new breed of inmates coming into prison, say starting from 1968. A younger generation. They don't take any kind of crap from anybody at all. They find that they don't have to. They don't care what happens. They don't care about the punishment they get.

They're tired of the treatment that they get, like being treated like animals. They know that the guards know that they're human, but the guards don't want to treat them like they're human because they're locked up. The guards walk around with keys, and they feel superior because they can lock you up at a certain time at night, and they go home to their family.

The inmates have grown tired of this all over the country, I think. And it's starting to show. We want to be recognized. We want people to know that we're in here. And we want them to know that our needs are just as real as theirs are out there.

We're tired of being locked away, being punished for petty things. We want better food. We want good cloth-

ing. We want to know what's happening with our families. We want better communication with the outside society, so that in the event that we're released we can go back outside and adjust to that community. We don't want to be rejected.

Powers: How many hours a day do you get for recreation?

Loftis: From 3:45 p.m. until 11 or 11:30 at night.

Powers: What about the visiting hours? You mentioned the difficulty in keeping in touch with your families.

Loftis: I'm not talking about mothers and brothers, I'm talking about wives, and girl friends. The guys come here and what scares the people outside is the big time they get. You have to do at least two-thirds of your sentence if you're convicted of a crime of violence. And this scares the people outside, especially the wives and girl friends. So they'll come up for a while, and after a while they'll slack off and the visits start getting down to one a month. So the guys start writing letters, and they don't get any answers from their loved ones, and this brings on a frustration. The guys don't know what to do with themselves. If they're into something then they drop out of that and start moping. Guys hurt themselves; they cut themselves; they hang themselves, things like that.

Powers: Are people here interested in politics?

Loftis: I think they're very interested in politics, from the way that they talk about who's in office and who's running for office. But the thing that hurts us most is where we can't vote. If you're convicted of a felony you can't vote at all, you can't get passports to go out of the country. You might as well say you lose your whole citizenship when you get convicted of a felony. You can't do anything at all pertaining to the rights of politics.

Powers: How would you summarize your complaints about the prison?

Loftis: The major complaints would be: the food; we want all-night lights; we want conjugal visits and furloughs, and if not that we want longer visiting hours—there are so many complaints. The rooms we're in are infested with roaches. Every place you turn around, the whole place has roaches. Every time you pick up a book or something in your room a bunch of roaches crawl out of it. They get in your locker.

Powers: How would you like the prison system as a whole to be reformed?

Loftis: Well, if it were left to me there would be no prisons at all.

Blacks have ever been any part of Amerikan society. I say we haven't. History states that we haven't. We're captives of this thing termed Amerikan. As such, it is and has always been our obligation to resist; resistance to unjust bonds, organized injustice, can never be interpreted as crime, be it individual resistance or organized mass resistance. Is it criminal for the Black mine worker in the Union of South Africa to steal a diamond when he can, or for the workers en masse to take the mine? Were the Jews of Warsaw 1944-45 criminals?

The men who live above and at the center of Amerikan corporativism understand clearly the issue at question. Through their machinating, any activity can be made to seem criminal. Most crimes are economic in na-

ture—85 percent, in fact. These figures will alter as the revolution upstages, but the underlying motive will still be economic. Consequently, the realistic situation is one where a very small knot of men and women are protecting "their" constitutional right to own or control the means of the people's subsistence by defining criminality. The relatively small percentage of what is left—thrill crimes, or as your question runs: "the Black man who rapes and murders a Black woman." Every revolutionary theoretician and psychiatrist accepts as elementary the tendency of violence to turn inward when the oppressed can find no externalization, "the collective autodestruction" phenomenon. Again the basis is economic oppression or the effects of a dying civilization tied to an economic arrangement that was

decadent 100 years ago. Part of the myth that we must destroy is that "the people" reduced to a state of inexplicable misery still have a choice of action. Invariably their response will take some form of violence. I term this violence, individual or collective, not crime but antithesis. "Violence is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."

Society above society has had 7,000 years of trial. It has never worked. Pure totalitarianism is impossible—all so-called criminal action is governed by cause and effect, as is everything material. All criminals are victims of the attempt to maintain hierarchy. Any other conclusion denies original innocence, or in effect advances that men are criminals before they are born.



George Jackson

Mass arrests of Ceylon socialists

From Intercontinental Press

Despite its Draconian, repressive measures, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's "United Front" government in Ceylon has apparently failed in its attempts completely to smash the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna [JVP—People's Liberation Front]. New measures announced by the government indicate its continued fear of the rebel youth organization.

"Fifteen thousand arrests and many killings later," B.H.S. Jayewardene wrote from Colombo in the September 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "Ceylon still is gripped by fears of insurrection. Last week a dusk to dawn curfew was reintroduced in four north-central districts following reports of isolated terrorist activities. The curfew in the capital itself continues."

"The government reportedly has received confidential security reports that rebellious elements continue to be active in some parts of the country. This may have contributed to its decision to disarm the nation. All gun licences have been withdrawn by special gazette notification and all licence holders asked to surrender their weapons immediately. New licences will be issued on a very selective basis."

Another indication of the government's fears was provided by the pro-Moscow Communist party, a junior partner in the governing coalition. The CP, Jayewardene reported, recently felt the need to adopt a long resolution attacking the JVP.

In the time-tested Stalinist fashion, the CP resolution slandered the JVP's armed resistance to the government's attacks as "reactionary and potentially counter-revolutionary." The CP went to the lengths of criticizing the former government of the reactionary United National party (UNP) *from the right*. The UNP, the CP complained, had not done enough to suppress the socialist youth of the JVP:

"It has now been disclosed that Dudley Senanayake's UNP government, although fully aware of the existence, nature and personnel of these ultra-leftist groups, did nothing of any consequence to combat their activities which it regarded as directed mainly against the United Front parties."

One sentence of their resolution betrays the reason for the CP chiefs' hysterical attacks on the JVP:

"Simultaneously attempts were made, with varying degrees of success, to penetrate, confuse and disorientate the youth and the student movements of the three United Front parties."

It is easy to believe that CP youth, tired of their party's role of preserving capitalism in Ceylon, would have been attracted to the JVP. The Stalinist hacks know no better way to stop such "disorientation" than the physical liquidation of the rebel youth it considers responsible.



Repression in Ceylon

High school youth and the 1972 SWP election campaign

The following is the speech presented by David Keepnews to the Sept. 11 campaign rally at Brooklyn College launching the New York State Socialist Workers Party election slate. Keepnews is the SWP candidate for 66th State Assembly District. He is a student at Dalton High School in New York City, and was elected vice-president of the student body after running a successful socialist campaign.

One of the groups of people to whom supporters of the SWP 1972 campaign are going to be taking this campaign is this country's high school students. High school students are one group of people with whom I must confess a certain amount of familiarity, having been one for the last two years and planning to remain one for the next two. And just in case anyone has any doubts about how receptive we are going to be to the campaign, I'd like to put an immediate end to those doubts.

The fact is—and I don't think anyone here is about to argue this point—that high school students are an important and integral part of the forces that are going to change this country and this world around. And we're proving that fact.

We're proving it in the frequent outbursts of high school students in the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities that occur in response to the racist, intolerable conditions that exist in what the government has the nerve to call "educational institutions." We prove it every time high school women demand the right to access to birth control and abortion information so that they can decide for themselves what happens with their own bodies and their own lives. We prove it when thousands of us begin demanding our constitutional rights to freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly—something that is denied almost every high school student in this country. We prove it when vast numbers of us participate in anti-war demonstrations. We prove it when hundreds of thousands of us go out on strike against the war in Southeast Asia, which is something I think we're all going to see proven very well this Nov. 3rd.

The fact is that all of us—whether we're in public, parochial or private high schools—have reason enough to be fed up with this society. High school students are composed of all the groups in society that are fighting against their oppression—workers, women, oppressed nationalities, gay people. In addition, more and more of us are coming to recognize that our high schools presently exist for the purpose of forcing the acceptance of this oppression into our heads, in the obviously vain hope that it will go unchallenged forever. We all share a common hatred of the war in Southeast Asia, and roughly one-half of us are faced with the possibility of being drafted into that war after we graduate—or don't graduate, as the case may be.

'Not too young to be human'

Not only that, but we are consistently denied the most basic of democratic rights by this government which considers us too young to be human. Practically all of us are denied our constitutional freedoms as defined by the Bill of Rights—the basic freedoms to speak, to assemble, to organize, to leaflet—freedoms that our schools teach us our country was founded on.

Not only are most of us denied our constitutional rights inside our high schools, but outside as well. For instance, while I am encouraged by the fact that 18-year-olds have won the

right to vote and to run for office, what about citizens who are younger than that? I am 16 years old, and I know a lot of people, my age and younger, who know what's going on in this country. We certainly know what's going on a hell of a lot better than Nixon does! We know what's going on because we're living in it, and because we're fighting to change it. And that's more than any Democratic or Republican politician can claim!

And that's going to be one of the most important points of my campaign for the State Assembly. As an activist in the high school student movement, I'm going to take the program of the SWP to the people of this city. The fact that I am under 18, rather than being any sort of detriment to the campaign, is one of its biggest assets. I think it's the fact that I'm officially under age—that is, high school age—that qualifies me to run. Some people may claim that a 16-year-old doesn't have enough experience to run for public office. Well, the oldest Democrat or Republican in this country doesn't have the

parties that are responsible for perpetrating the oppression of the working class, women, Chicanos, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and gay people that we are trying to bring an end to. . . .

The Democrats and Republicans, in their "liberal" variety, have tried time and time again to derail the movements we support, to take them off the streets and into their back pockets. Of all the candidates in the 1972 elections, only the SWP's has taken a leading role in these movements, and tried to keep them powerful and in the streets.

And likewise, in the upcoming period, the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be the only campaign support group in the high schools building these movements. They will be the only support group building our student strike on Nov. 3rd and building the entire antiwar offensive this fall. They will be the only support group in the high schools building the Nov. 20th demonstration to repeal all abortion laws.

And in high schools all across the country, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be running student



David Keepnews speaking at Sept. 11 New York rally

Photo by Mark Satinoff

experience of being a leader of a movement that's fighting for a better world. And that is experience that I'm proud to say I have.

My campaign is going to be fighting on the same side as high school students all over the country. And that's the same side as the masses of people in this country. And that, too, is more than any Democratic or Republican politician can claim.

I think that's the reason why, from now until the 1972 elections, we are going to see high school students flock by the thousands to the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and rally to support SWP candidates all across the country. What choice do we have? Of all the candidates, programs and parties being offered in the elections, the only party running that supports the movements and issues that we are involving ourselves in is the SWP. The only candidates that offer a program to change this society are the SWP candidates. And believe me, that's saying a lot.

The Democrats and Republicans, in all their shadings, are not fighting for what we're fighting for. At best, they give feeble lip service to our goals. At worst, they ignore us or attack us outright. The Democrats and Republicans are the parties that started the war in Indochina; they are the

government campaigns like the campaign for vice-president that I was able to run successfully at my school—campaigns to change our schools into institutions for building the mass movements. Like the SWP campaigns, they will be mobilizing students into action in these movements, and they will challenge all those candidates who want to keep things the way they are.

The YSJPs will, quite simply, serve as the political alternative in the high schools, drawing thousands of high school students away from capitalist politics. Because the difference between being a Young Democrat or Republican and being a Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley, the difference between supporting the Democratic or Republican Party candidates and supporting the Socialist Workers candidates is a qualitative difference. And it's a very important difference. It's the difference between letting things go on the way they are—that is, supporting your own oppression, supporting the war, suppressing the denial of your own rights—or saying "no" to all that and going along with the thousands and thousands of high school students who are moving to end it. As far as I and thousands of other high school students are concerned, the choice is a very clear one.

Saigon election fraud brings protest

By DICK ROBERTS

The election farce of South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu's one-man "campaign" has exploded in Washington's face despite administration attempts to soft-pedal it.

In Saigon, anti-American sentiment has reached new peaks. An organization of students, numbering 1,500 according to its leaders, has opened a drive against American soldiers and civilians stationed in Saigon. The U.S. Embassy told Americans to "refrain from moving in public in groups of three or four, to stay away from large crowds and to alter daily routines, including routes to and from work."

On Sept. 16, the An Quang Buddhists issued a call for a boycott of the Oct. 3 Thieu election. This illegal move is the first major political action by the Buddhist faction in a long time.

The An Quang Pagoda played a prominent role in the events leading to the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963 and the Buddhist faction was again active in the spring of 1966, staging major demonstrations against the Saigon government and demanding U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. At that time, the Buddhists were brutally suppressed by Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, and many of their leaders subsequently suffered long imprisonments.

President Nixon's refusal to intervene in any way against Thieu underlines the real meaning of "Vietnamization," and it is sure to backfire as momentum gains for the October and November actions against the war.

Thieu spilled it all out at a party for foreign correspondents in the Saigon presidential palace Sept. 16.

"President Nguyen Van Thieu said tonight that he saw no chance of meaningful peace talks in Paris until there had been an all-out military confrontation with North Vietnamese forces, which he predicted would come in 1973," *New York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster reported.

"While [Thieu] said he understood President Nixon's 'need to withdraw troops before the American presidential election' next year, he hoped that at least 50,000 Americans, perhaps more, could remain as a residual force."

At a press conference, President Nixon was asked about moves in the U.S. Congress to cut off aid because of the undemocratic Saigon elections. Nixon said that if Washington applied that standard to other nations, "we would have to cut off aid to two-thirds of the nations in the world." Nixon stated that U.S. involvement would continue until "South Vietnam [is] able to defend itself against a Communist takeover."

Nixon's intransigent support for the Saigon dictatorship is worrying those sectors of the American ruling class pressing for a speedier U.S. withdrawal and an early negotiated settlement. "The mistake U.S. officials made in 1963," the *New York Times* declared editorially Sept. 18,

"both before and after Diem, was in believing that the road to peace in Vietnam lay in a Saigon leadership that would press for military victory, spurning any opportunity for political compromise. President Nixon appears committed to pursuing the same disastrous policy today."

In the U.S. Senate, Democratic Party majority leader Mike Mansfield waged an unsuccessful battle to attach an amendment to the draft bill which would call for withdrawing U.S. troops from Indochina within nine months of the passage of the draft law, with the proviso that all prisoners of war would have to be released in the nine months.

The Mansfield amendment had been adopted by the Senate on June 22, but was subsequently watered down to meaninglessness in a Senate-House conference.

Mansfield argued on Sept. 17, "Nearly three months—nearly 90 days—have passed since that Senate action. What has happened? In that time, there have been well over 1,200 more American injuries. Almost 350 more Americans have been killed. Over 200,000 tons of bombs have been dumped from American aircraft. Between \$2- and \$3-billion more has been spent. . . .

"It is no wonder that more voices have joined to ask, 'For what purpose have the nearly 360,000 U.S. deaths and casualties over the past 10 years been sustained? On what have we been spending billions in Southeast Asia?' Surely not for an uncontested, one-man referendum that is paraded

under the label of democracy. . . .

"Once again I am going to read to the Senate the actual casualty lists as of yesterday: 301,589 wounded Americans, 45,501 dead Americans in combat, 9,757 Americans wounded or dead in non-combat activities, for a total casualty compilation of 356,847. Those figures speak louder than any words." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 14507.)

Gloria Emerson described the Saigon youth movement attempting to sabotage U.S. occupation. "A scrawny 16-year-old Vietnamese high school student, who loathes American soldiers, tried his best today to burn an American Army van and the GI driving it. It was another incident in a three-week-old campaign, now causing concern to U.S. officials, by high school and university students in Saigon to burn American military and civilian vehicles and to beat up GIs.

"In an interview today," said Emerson in the Sept. 16 *New York Times*, "the leaders of the group, who call it the Movement Struggling for the People's Right to Life, said their aim was to force all American troops to leave Vietnam immediately. The presence of American troops here in massive numbers since 1965 was cited by these students as the cause of 'much suffering' in the country. . . .

"Lam Thanh Qui, a 20-year-old high school student, said any GI would be attacked who did not wear a peace symbol or show it on his vehicle's windshield. But . . . it was finally decided that American vehicles and soldiers had to show the one passed out by the movement. It is a slip of paper showing two hands breaking an American M-16 rifle. The words on the paper . . . say: 'Down with the war of the M-16 rifle. Aggression by the American imperialists.'"

Meanwhile the giant U.S.-Saigon military campaign in northern South Vietnam—dubbed at its outset as "the acid test of Vietnamization"—seems to have come to an end. The "drive by the 13,500-man force had produced no significant results," the *Times* reported in a photograph caption Sept. 20.

Los Angeles Times reported Jack Foise talked to U.S. officers critical of the campaign. "There is evidence that most North Vietnamese troops were withdrawing from the . . . area at the end of August," Foise reported Sept. 18.

"But the ARVN did not launch an attack until Sept. 6. This 'noncombat' coincidence occurs often with ARVN troops. It can only be explained by poor security of operational plans, an accommodation with the enemy, or the desire of ARVN commanders—facing an unending war—to avoid casualties.

"Perhaps the biggest disappointment is that the South Vietnamese, in this second big campaign in the far northern province, have again called on American-flown helicopters and warplanes for virtually all troop lifts and close air support, as they did in the invasion of Laos."



"For heaven's sake, put something on just for appearances."

Senate clears way for passage of draft bill

By MICHAEL SMITH

SEPT. 17—The White House termed its success in clearing the way today for the passage of a two-year draft extension "a victory for the president."

This "victory" occurred when the Senate voted 47 to 39 to accept a House-Senate conference committee bill which was a diluted compromise of a bill it had passed earlier. This action also removed an amendment by Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield calling for withdrawal of U.S. forces in nine months. Final action by the Senate should come the last week of September, restoring to Nixon the power to conscript which lapsed June 30, 1971.

The administration and Pentagon are thus assured of enough manpower through 1973 to at least maintain the size of the present 2.2 million person military machine. They will be able to secure, in their terms, "high quality" people who otherwise would not voluntarily join. Eighty thousand men have already been drafted in 1971 and the Pentagon has announced it needs an additional 20,000 this year.

Since the first major escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965, 1.3 million men have been con-

scripted and another 1.2 million have been induced to enlist because of pressure from the draft.

Senators Mike Gavel (D-Alaska) and Allan Cranston (D-Calif.) have announced they will lead a filibuster against Senate passage of the compromise version. It is believed, however, that they will be unable to hold for long the one-third of the Senate necessary to close debate. Mansfield has said he will not back them.

The hiatus since the June 30 lapse of the draft law was the first since 1947. Likewise, since 1947 Congress has not had to debate the draft issue. It has passed new conscription laws 12 consecutive times easily and conveniently.

This year has been different, the task being more difficult than in any time in a quarter of a century. Nixon needed and received bipartisan support in the Senate. Segregationist Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.), working closely with Pentagon lobbyists, led Nixon's forces and helped marshal the bill through the upper chamber.

In contrast to Mansfield's and the "doves'" mild efforts, Nixon pulled out all the stops. Newly appointed Senator Robert Stafford (R-Vt.), a self-described moderate liberal and war critic who has

co-authored a book urging abolition of the draft, was lined up. When it was ascertained that he would vote for the Nixon line, an Air Force jet was sent to fly him to Washington from Vermont for the vote. The final vote was 47 to 36 with 15 vote switches and several crucial absences.

Antidraft sentiment throughout the country is so high that Nixon, ever since his electioneering three years ago, has been forced to talk demagogically in terms of a volunteer army—some time in the future. After today's vote, Dixiecrat Stennis, who had agitated with alarm on the impending crisis of manpower and national security and on the degeneration in the quality of the new military recruit under the noncompulsion system of enlistment effective by default since June 30, commented, "I fully realize we can't go to a volunteer concept without a transitional period." In other words, reenacting the draft is actually the way to abolish it, reasons the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

His counterpart in the House, Representative F. Edward Hebert, has been more candid. "The only way you're going to get an all volunteer army is to draft," he observed.

Guardian staff writer attacks critics of Padilla jailing

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Irwin Silber's article in the Aug. 18 *Guardian* about the case of the Cuban poet Heberto Padilla makes a scurrilous attack on those revolutionary partisans of Cuba including the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* and internationally respected radical intellectuals who expressed public concern and protest over the jailing of Padilla. Padilla was released after he made a degrading "confession" which did not contain a single fact about a specific crime actually committed.

In a four-part article which concluded in the Sept. 17 *Militant*, I sought to examine the Padilla case and the political context in which it occurred. Briefly, I stated that the crackdown on Padilla constituted a serious violation of the concepts of socialist democracy; that it represented a concession by the Cuban leadership to Stalinist bureaucratic methods.

I offered factual evidence that this occurred in the context of a worsening economic situation in Cuba, coupled with the excruciating difficulty of being driven by the U.S. blockade into the position of being economically and militarily dependent on the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Kremlin persistently seeks to extract political concessions in return for the aid which it doles out so sparingly.

I noted that the Padilla case was not an isolated incident, and that it was followed by a Cuban Congress on Education and Culture which in addition to endorsing the treatment of Padilla took a political line that could only be characterized as a major concession to Stalinism.

Silber's defense of the Cuban handling of Padilla is a wretched business. His article begins:

"If counterrevolution always appeared before us in the familiar trappings of James Bond movies or the more obvious maneuverings of CIA-inspired intrigue, we should not have any great difficulty in recognizing it. . . .

"But counterrevolution is not always the work of a CIA think-tank. All too often it comes disguised in the rhetoric of 'solidarity with the principles' of the struggle, or concern with what is all-too-easily described as 'socialist morality,' but turns out to be on closer inspection, a predisposition for the outmoded values of dying bourgeois society."

Counterrevolutionaries?

Who could Silber be referring to? Some recent infiltrators of the radical movement who are cleverly using revolutionary rhetoric to cover up what is really a counterrevolutionary political line?

Apparently not. The only individuals referred to in the article are such respected socialist and pro-socialist intellectuals as Tamara Deutscher, José Yglesias, Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre and others. The political group singled out for this smear attack is the Socialist Workers Party and the paper which expresses its viewpoint, *The Militant*.

José Yglesias is, and has been, a staunch defender of the Cuban revolution. He was guide and translator to Warren Miller, who wrote the outstanding book about the revolution, *90 Miles From Home*. Yglesias' own principal work on Cuba, *In the Fist of the Revolution*, written after living six months in a Cuban town, is a powerful pro-revolutionary work. Precisely when Yglesias developed "a predisposition for the outmoded class values of a dying bourgeois society," Silber neglects to mention.

Suffice it to say, no explanation is offered either as to whether such figures as Deutscher, de Beauvoir and Sartre were always counterrevolutionary or recently lapsed into that category.

For the SWP and *Militant*, Silber resorts to a really crude dodge:

"While it is not the intent of this article to respond merely with a counterpolemic," Silber announces, "I have to confess that I begin myself with feelings of 'shame and anger' at the conduct of these self-appointed 'judges' of the Cuban revolution and the shameless exploitation of the 'affair' in this country by the Socialist Workers Party and its newspaper, *The Militant*."

This is a very convenient device, since it liberates Silber from the need to devote even one sentence to what the SWP or *The Militant* actually had to say about the Padilla case.

It is equally convenient in that it disposes of the need to explain why a movement which has, from the outset, been consistent and vigorous in its defense of the Cuban revolution should suddenly become interested in engaging in a "shameless exploitation" of the case.

It is a fact, of course, that the SWP and *The Militant* has responded in a sharply critical way to the Padilla development. But anyone who troubles to read what has actually been written will realize that its point of departure is continuing defense of the Cuban revolution. Or is Silber now prepared to reassert the old Stalinist thesis that any disagreement with the government of a workers state is automatically equivalent to counterrevolution?

But, a weary reader will inquire, what does Silber actually have to say about the Padilla case?

The answer, those who have read it carefully will advise you, is . . . nothing. He takes the "confession" which Padilla wrote before his release from prison, summarizes the main points, and simply presents them as established, incontrovertible fact.

After rehashing Padilla's "confession," Silber asserts: "It is a measure of the dishonesty with which the 'concerned' Western intellectuals have approached this case that Yglesias in his article [in the *New York Review of Books*] says that Padilla was arrested without any charges being brought against him and never quotes the following from the poet's own statement, already in Yglesias' hands: 'I was arrested for being a counterrevolutionary,' says Padilla."

Which is precisely like saying, "I was arrested for being a criminal."

Padilla's 'confession'

Those who read Padilla's embarrassingly self-debasing statement know that he confessed his guilt at having an "inflated ego" and "seeking fame abroad"; of having a "defeatist" spirit in his poetry; and so on. But nowhere in this "confession" does Padilla cite a single concrete counterrevolutionary act which he committed. And, needless to say, neither does Silber. (A counterrevolutionary, presumably, is one who works actively to overthrow a revolution, or whose crimes are of such a magnitude as to objectively contribute toward such an overthrow.)

Silber doesn't even quote a line from Padilla's work to at least support the pathetically thin argument that his poetry was "counterrevolutionary."

But, says Silber, Padilla confessed, didn't he? And this was no Moscow frame-up trial with confessions extracted by torture.

I don't know how the "confession" was extracted. Some fear it was by torture. On the other hand, the revolutionary Mexican writer José Revueltas, on reading Padilla's explanation that he came to recognize his counterrevolutionary ways after extensive discussion with the security police, made this cogent observation:

"The 'heretics' of the Middle Ages in recanting offered much less resistance to Jesuit sophistry than to boiling lead poured into their eye sockets."

In any event, I challenge Silber to present proof of one specific counterrevolutionary act by Padilla—from his "confession," or anywhere else.

The fact is that the "confession" is so flimsy that even so enthusiastic an endorser of it as Silber is moved to uneasily note:

"The statement is hardly a manifesto of revolutionary culture. . . . Conceivably it may not even be a totally honest statement.[!] But if it contains exaggerations designed to please others or insincere avowals, then the inconsistencies are Padilla's, not Cuba's."

That could possibly squeak by if the Cuban government had offered independent substantiating evidence of Padilla's alleged counterrevolutionary activity. But since the "confession" is the sole piece of evidence, the "inconsistencies" are the property of everyone who uses it to prove Padilla's guilt.

An old Stalinist favorite in the field of polemic is the amalgam. Example: The "Trotskyites" opposed LBJ from the left. Goldwater opposed LBJ from the right. That puts them both in the same political camp.

Silber employs this method when he writes: "While the bourgeois press gleefully reported the 'wide breach' developing between intellectuals and the Cuban revolution and American Armed Forces Radio trumpeted the affair as a 'refreshing schism,' the diletante-leftist press (*The New York Review of Books*) analyzed the entire matter as a reflection of growing Soviet involvement in Cuban affairs. Not to be outdone, the American Trotskyist press undertook a series of blatantly hostile polemics designed to document Cuba's departure from the path of revolutionary purity as defined by the Talmudists of the Socialist Workers Party."

In the Padilla case, in its "critical" endorsement of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and in other instances, the Cuban leadership has made serious departures from revolutionary principles. Serious revolutionary partisans of Cuba in all countries have the duty, not merely the right, to express their views on this. By doing so they contribute far more to the good and welfare of the Cuban revolution than those like Silber who would "defend" it with the utterly discredited methods of Stalinism.

A postscript: To my knowledge, the *Guardian* has not commented editorially on the Padilla case. I do not know if Silber was simply expressing his own views or if his piece represented the thinking of the *Guardian* staff. If it does not represent the thinking of the staff—as I hope is the case—elementary political hygiene would suggest that those who disagree speak up.

Bengali refugee toll mounts

By MARCEL BLACK

Despite attempts by the Yahya Khan dictatorship to give the appearance of easing the repression of the East Bengali people in Bangla Desh, the number of Bengalis fleeing to India may soon reach over 15 million.

On Sept. 1, Yahya resumed "civilian" rule in East Bengal, appointing a civilian to administer the same repressive policies previously carried out by the military. Yahya also issued an amnesty Sept. 5 on all "non-political" survivors of the Pakistan invasion of East Bengal months ago. On Sept. 4, the *New York Times* reported that it was rumored that the treason trial of East Bengali leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman had been delayed.

These events seem to have very little to do with making life better for the East Bengalis, and are really oriented to placate the international opposition to Yahya's genocidal methods, especially to make it easier for Nixon to get the U.S. public to support further U.S. aid to Yahya.

Mirroring this fact, refugees continue to stream into India from Bangla Desh. There are now 8,250,000 refugees according to the Sept. 1 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Indian officials believe it may soon reach 10 million.

Harji Malik, writing in the Aug. 28 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, describes the situation of refugees from Bangla Desh:

"And still the atrocities continue. . . . Eyewitnesses reported seeing three bodies, naked young women, lying along the roadside near the border just a few days before. They had been raped and killed, one of them shot through the female organs. Others tell of women raped and bayoneted in the same way. A Bangla Desh doctor described West Pakistan soldiers ripping open the stomach of pregnant women, pulling out the unborn bodies, and holding them in the air while they forced the people to shout: 'Long live Bengal.' . . ."

"Care of the present numbers of 'evacuees'—as the Indian government insists on calling them officially—is achieved at the cost of Indian development. . . . If the number of refugees remains static, which is highly unlikely, the total expenditure on them for this financial year will be at least 20 percent of the entire Indian budget. The refugees have already been here five months and so far only a tiny handful have gone back. . . . The economy has been seriously disrupted and the five-year plan will be inevitably affected."

The Indian government, Malik wrote, has prevented major explosions in the Indian population only by maintaining the fiction that the refugees will be able to return to East Bengal within six months. U.S. sources have disclosed that behind the superficial wrangling between them, the Indira Gandhi government of India and Yahya Khan's military clique may be working out some type of compromise that would allow the voluntary or forcible return of the refugees. While other capitalist politicians speak of the chances of war between India and Pakistan to allow repatriation, including Malik, they forget that capitalist India's refusal to give more than symbolic aid to the Bangla Desh fighters allowed the Pakistanis to force these millions into exile.

By TONY THOMAS

"Current policies of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) have reversed the revolutionary process in China, and have taken China back on the path of capitalism. . . . The concessions granted to the [Chinese] bourgeoisie by the policy of New Democracy had enabled a new ruling class to emerge and gain ascendancy. It differed in form from the old rul-

did in 1962, revolutionaries would be under no obligation to support China if she were, as the PLP now tells us, equally as capitalist as India.

Since the Soviet Union, which PLP analyzes in the same whimsical way it analyzes China, has been branded not only "capitalist" but "imperialist" and "fascist," it is necessary for PLP to clarify whether or not the same characterization applies to China also. In 1968 when the Soviet Army invaded Czechoslovakia, PLP supported

talist ownership of social wealth, resources and productive facilities. The economic life of these countries is not based on rational expansion of productive power, but on anarchic competition between the Mellons, the du Ponts, the Rockefellers, the Krupps, and other capitalists on a national and international scale. If it serves the needs of capitalist profit, production will be curtailed or halted altogether, wages slashed, and world economic crises precipitated.

It is this private ownership of the economic resources and the national and international competition and economic anarchy resulting from it, rather than the personal privileges of the capitalists, that determines the existence of capitalism.

Workers states, are states in which the private ownership of the dominant productive forces has been ended by a social and economic revolution, and planning rather than anarchic competition charts the economic course. Whatever private property remains—such as peasant holdings—plays a subordinate role in relation to the nationalized sector. Economic relations between a workers state and capitalist countries is governed by a state monopoly of foreign trade.

Marxists designate the Soviet Union, the Eastern European states including Yugoslavia, and China, Cuba, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea) as workers states because capitalist property relations have been overturned.

PLP openly rejects this Marxist approach in its attempt to analyze the social character of the Chinese state. It claims that the question of productive relations is irrelevant. It states, "The question of who holds state power cannot be answered by examining only forms (the Soviet Union, after all has a Communist Party and *state ownership of property*.)" (November 1971 PL, emphasis added)

In its search for determining when and how China became a capitalist state, PLP argues that during the making of the Chinese revolution Mao Tsetung and the CCP vacillated between "a . . . class struggle line . . . [and] a new democratic class collaborationist line. . . ." (November 1971 PL)

PLP also claims that Chinese peasants, workers, and lower echelon CCP cadres forced Mao to establish a workers state in 1949, which existed until 1959.

Whereas PLP contends that the Mao leadership from 1949 to 1959 had a centrist position, i.e., vacillating between reform and revolution, revolutionary Marxists argue that the Mao leadership was reformist and following the class collaborationist policies of Stalin at the time of the 1949 revolution. This was indicated in the first years after the revolution when Mao attempted to form a coalition government with capitalist parties and did not immediately expropriate capitalist-owned industry.

This policy failed, however, in spite of Mao's attempts to carry it out because of the extreme weakness of the capitalist forces in China, the tremendous mass mobilization of the peasants and workers, and the necessity to organize the economy on an efficient basis to cope with the threat of U. S. invasion during the Korean war.

It was during the Korean war, that capitalist ownership over production was overturned and replaced with a nationalized planned economy. This was accomplished in spite of the Maoist leadership, but Mao still retained his control and established a reformist, undemocratic and privileged bureaucracy over the new workers state. Thus the Chinese workers state was deformed from birth.

PLP further claims: "the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie [capitalists] . . . is what came to prevail in China in the period 1960-1966." It views the 1966-

1968 Chinese "cultural revolution" as an unsuccessful attempt by Chinese workers to win back power from the "red bourgeoisie" led by Mao.

Nature of bureaucratic caste

While ignoring the system of production existing in China, PLP points to personal privileges accruing to the Maoist bureaucrats, attitudes expressed by the Mao leadership on a number of political questions, Mao's acceptance of Soviet aid in the 1950s, and China's military policies as evidence that China is dominated by a capitalist class.

The role of the Mao bureaucracy, like that in the Soviet Union, is completely different from that of a capitalist class. The capitalist class is necessary to the *productive* process in capitalist society. Without Mellons, Rockefellers, etc., owning the means of production, forcing profits, exploiting labor, etc., you don't have capitalism. Capitalism without the capitalist class is as absurd as capitalism without wage workers.

The Maoist bureaucracy, however, rather than being a social group with a necessary role in the productive system of the Chinese workers state, plays a parasitic role. Without the Mao bureaucratic caste, which appropriates material privileges for itself, the nationalized and planned economy would not only continue to exist but would be more productive than it is now if there was mass participation in the economic planning.

PLP is unable to prove that the Chinese "red bourgeoisie" is engaged in individual ownership of the means of production, or that China suffers the competition, crises and imperialist investment that goes along with capitalism. Nor is PLP or anyone able to seriously claim that a "red bourgeoisie" in China can sell productive facilities to one another or foreign investors or will them to their children or relatives. In short, PLP is unable to prove that the Maoist bureaucracy is really a capitalist class for one simple reason: it isn't.

In reality, China is still a workers state. The main contradiction in China is not between the anarchy and exploitation wrought by individual profit-gouging capitalists and workers exploited by this system of production; but between a rational nationalized productive system and a privileged bureaucracy led by Mao and the CCP.

One of the attributes of this bureaucracy is a narrow-minded nationalist outlook that puts its own needs to stay in power before the needs of the world revolution. It's main perspective, like the Soviet bureaucracy, is the establishment of "socialism in one country" rather than defense of the revolution through its extension to other countries.

This is the basis for Mao's support to Yahya Khan in Pakistan and Bandaranaike in Ceylon. This is also the basis for Mao's two-stage theory of revolution in which the fight for socialism in colonial and semi-colonial countries is subordinated to alliances with the national capitalists.

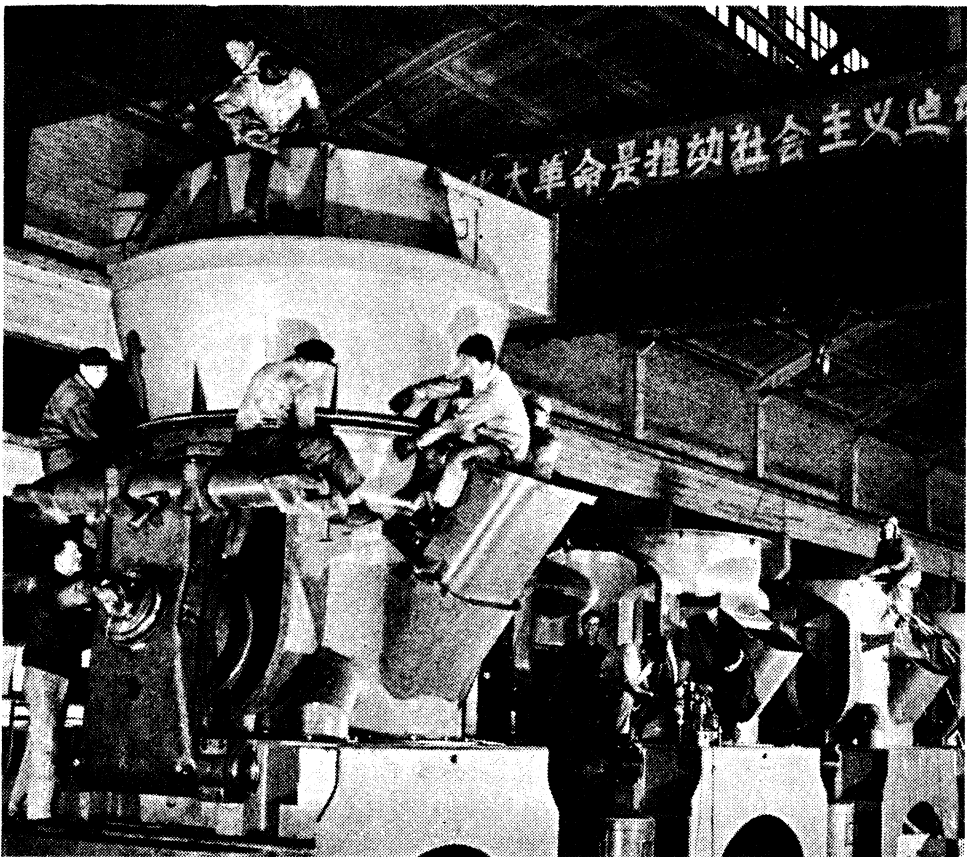
Revolutionary socialists have condemned, since the establishment of the Mao regime, many of the abuses the PLP criticizes: the privileges of the Chinese bureaucrats; the use of compulsion and the suppression of workers democracy; the repression and murder of pro-socialist dissidents including the Chinese Trotskyists—and an endless list of other crimes committed by the Mao bureaucrats against the Chinese revolution.

However, revolutionary socialists also recognize that China remains a workers state and that the gains of the revolution must be defended against the enemies of the Chinese revolution, including the Maoist bureaucrats.

The class character of China is a serious question, not a question of

Continued on page 22

In defense of the Chinese revolution: An answer to Progressive Labor



Workers assembling coal pulverizers in Shanghai plant. Industrial development is made possible by China's planned economy—the basic conquest of the revolution which remains intact and to which PLP shuts its eyes.

ing class, but its capitalist essence remained identical."

Thus, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), in the November issue of its magazine *Progressive Labor*, brands Maoist China, which it once held up as the model of "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism" and socialism, as a capitalist state. This follows PLP's similar reversal in 1966 of its position on the Soviet Union. Once hailed as "socialist," the U. S. S. R. was dubbed a capitalist state.

By 1967, both PLP and the Chinese bureaucracy were branding the Soviet Union as "imperialist" and "fascist." Now the same anti-Marxist method is being used by the ex-Maoists of PLP to analyze China itself.

The question of whether or not China is capitalist has far-reaching implications. At issue are how many of the gains won in the Chinese revolution have been retained, and whether those gains should be defended. If China is no longer a workers state, revolutionary socialists would be under no obligation to defend China from capitalist attack. If war broke out between China and India, as it

China's branding of the Soviet Union as "imperialist" and "worse than Hitler," and claimed that Czechoslovakia was a bourgeois democracy which must be defended against "Soviet fascism." These jumbled and unscientific characterizations pose the question: Does PLP consider China "imperialist" and "fascist," and if so, would PLP defend China against U. S. imperialism which it characterizes as a bourgeois democracy?

Defense of the Chinese revolution is a serious question for all revolutionaries, and PLP's failure to state its position on this matter reflects its light-minded attitude to both theory and action.

Capitalist and workers states

What is the difference between capitalist states and workers states? Marxists determine this difference on the basis of the system of economic production that prevails within a country.

Countries like the U. S., Great Britain, France, Sweden, India, and so on are characterized as capitalist because the system of production in these countries is based on individual capi-

In Review

Film

A western that begins where most westerns end

McCabe and Mrs. Miller. Directed by Robert Altman. Starring Warren Beatty and Julie Christie. Warner Brothers.

Traditionally, the western has combined a justification for murder and land seizures used against Indians and Chicanos, a glorification of free enterprise, and a romantic view of state power (the lawman, the cavalry) as servant of the little guy. Such cinema mythology is a powerful weapon for justifying existing power relationships.

The conditions of free land and mineral wealth that prevailed for a time on the frontier gave credence to the philosophy of laissez-faire capitalism and influenced the national character in the direction of individualism, unlimited optimism, and expansionism. But soon the wilderness shrank, free land grew scarce, and the West (built up with Eastern capital) began to suffer during financial crises: "Rugged individualism" came into conflict with reality. The end result was not a classless society of freeholders but class friction in the form of Indian resistance, range wars, banditry, and finally union struggles.

If the early West was the only epoch in which free enterprise seemed to promise a utopia to some, then what better form of capitalist propaganda than the western? Yet today, as the rejection of this mythology spreads, some filmmakers are attempting to

end—with the settler struggling in the wilderness. But then enters the merchant to live off the needs and desires of the settlers, followed by the industrial capitalists, who ultimately dominate their predecessors.

McCabe, merchant of pleasure, squirms desperately to escape his fate. He tries to placate the gunmen sent to kill him; he engages a lawyer, a reform politician who lectures him about the evils of big trusts but who is more interested in his own career than his client's life; finally, too proud or stupid to ask the miners or even Mrs. Miller for help, McCabe faces the gunmen alone. Mrs. Miller is likewise defeated, retreating into the dream world of opium addiction.

Altman does not present a clear way out for someone trapped by a cut-throat social system, but he exposes the hopelessness of any individual solution. He tries hard and often successfully to create an aura of realism. But what with the hazy camera work, folksy songs and modishly excessive profanity, this is very nearly overdone. An arbitrary nude scene (women only, of course) appears to be an adaptation to box office requirements, although he also exposes some of the victimization of women.

The major innovation of the film is its presentation of Chinese immigrants and the major role they played in developing the region. The Mexican vaqueros, the Black cowboys, the Chinese laborers, and the multitude



Mrs. Miller (left) and McCabe

reconstruct a more accurate picture of America's past.

Robert Altman, director of *M.A.S.H.*, has made an excellent contribution to this trend with *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*. The film follows the rapid growth of a mining town in the Northwest, where a gambler and pimp (Beatty) and a madam (Christie) are in business. Just as these hard-working "entrepreneurs" are beginning to prosper, a mining trust moves in to buy out McCabe, casually liquidating him when he is slow to negotiate.

Altman begins where most westerns

of immigrant workers who built the West have been all but invisible in standard westerns.

Such long-hidden histories could provide a wealth of new material for young filmmakers. So would stories of the struggles between wealthy and small ranchers (like the Powder River War), the Indian genocide, even the early history of the IWW. As the myth-makers' version of history falls further into disrepute, alternative versions of America's rise to empire will increasingly be sought by the filmgoing public.

—STEVE BECK

Records

Won't Get Fooled Again

from the album *Who's Next* by The Who. Decca DL 79182.

It's no secret that rock and folk music have been powerful forces in the current radicalization. Dylan is the most obvious early example of one whose music was both a product of the rise in social and political consciousness and in turn helped to further raise social and political consciousness. Indeed, songs like Seeger's "We Shall Overcome" and later the Airplane's "Volunteers" have literally become fight songs for youth in the struggle against injustice.

One of the most significant, though lesser-known contributions was The Who's "My Generation," a song that defined today's youth as an oppressed social layer and then served up a cry of defiance against the oppression. Now The Who have re-emerged with their first new material since the 1969 rock opera "Tommy." The album is musically their finest to date and is entitled "Who's Next."

The single from that album "Won't Get Fooled Again" looms, at this writing, as another great hit. Peter Townshend, who penned the song, mixes an intriguing organ played through a wah-wah pedal with his patented explosive guitar to create some of the hardest rock possible.

On the other hand, Townshend's lyrics are a long way from the revolutionary fervor the music seems to create. Carrying still further the recent trend in rock music toward a stress on a personal approach to the world's problems, "Won't Get Fooled Again" may be the first right-wing single to make it since "Ballad of the Green Berets."

Townshend seeks to put fear into the listener by predicting a sellout of the revolution by its leaders:

We'll be fighting in the street
With our children at our feet
And the morals that they worshipped
Will be gone

And the men who spurred us on
Sit in judgment of all wrong
They decide and the shotgun sings the song . . .
Meet the new boss
Same as the old boss . . .

Townshend's criticisms show the weakness of his argument. Throughout the song he is only able to find fault with something that has not even happened. He has substituted a prediction of a change in course by revolutionary leaders for substantial critical argument against the revolution. Does he feel that people who have dedicated their lives to fighting poverty, racism, sexism, and other evils of the capitalist system will suddenly want to perpetuate those evils when in power? If so, what does he base this on? Townshend would do well to get to know some revolutionary leaders.

His arguments are effective only insofar as they play on people's natural fear of the unknown. But they differ little from those of McCarthyite groups like the John Birch Society.

In this case, however, the factual ignorance is Townshend's. Every real revolutionary knows that no true revolution can be made or can survive with leaders forcing their will upon the people with a shotgun. Yet, rather than attempt to insure that the revolution follow a correct course, Townshend says he's going to:

Pick up my guitar and play
Just like yesterday
And get on my knees and pray
We don't get fooled again.

It is this sort of political non-activity that has allowed every tyrant in history to come to power. Yet Townshend recommends this course of action in place of revolutionary struggle.

Perhaps, though, if we recall that in capitalist America The Who is able to rip off people to the tune of \$60,000 for an hour's concert, we'll better understand the source of these lyrics. Hopefully, we'll be able to enjoy the music and forget them.

—NEIL DOBRO

SWP launches fall campaign tours

By LAURA MILLER

After a month of successful meetings, banquets and rallies for the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, they are about to embark upon tours which will take them to nearly every state in the U.S. in the next three months. In addition to candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Cindy Jaquith, 24, and John Hawkins, 23, will be touring the country in support of the SWP campaign. Jaquith and Hawkins are national coordinators of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

Linda Jenness' tour will take her through the Midwestern states in late September and October. In early November, she will leave the Midwest for Pennsylvania, and then travel through New York, New Jersey, Con-



Cindy Jaquith Photo by Walter Lippmann

necticut and New England.

Andrew Pulley will begin his fall tour in the South. After touring Georgia, Tennessee and Florida, Pulley will head west to Texas and Arizona, then proceed to tour California, Washington, Oregon, Utah and the Rocky Mountain states. His tour will conclude in the Midwest in mid-December, with speaking engagements in Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo.

While on tour, both candidates will be speaking in high schools, on college campuses, and to social, community, and political groups and trade unions across the country. They'll be appearing on television and radio programs and in debate with the other candidates. A special feature of the tours will be fact-finding visits to such state-controlled institutions as prisons, hospitals, and child-care centers.

Both candidates will also participate in rallies and demonstrations, including the mass antiwar actions scheduled for Nov. 6—Jenness in New York and Pulley in Los Angeles. The candidates will also attend the national abortion demonstrations on Nov. 20 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

Cindy Jaquith, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, begins a tour of the Western states and the Midwest in Seattle Sept. 27. As a leading activist in the antiwar and feminist movements, she will be organizing meetings with other activists around the country to discuss what youth can do in support of the campaign.

John Hawkins is currently the SWP

candidate for mayor of Cleveland. As an experienced activist in the Black liberation struggle, and former student at Antioch College, he'll be helping to build the Jenness/Pulley campaign among Black activists and students on campuses and in high schools.

Both Jaquith and Hawkins will be key organizers of the campaign—setting up meetings with activists in the mass movements, debating representatives of the other candidates, meeting the press, addressing student audiences, and participating in rallies, marches and demonstrations from coast to coast.

Jaquith's tour begins Sept. 27 in

The following letter from Athens, Greece, was received on Sept. 20:

We, the underground fighting and imprisoned Trotskyists in Greece, greet our candidates for president and vice-president in the U.S.A., comrades Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and wish every success in their campaign.

We declare our solidarity with them and our Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in their fight for our common end: the world socialist revolution. Every progress of our movement in the stronghold of world reaction, the center of imperialism, is heartening and encouraging us in our fight against the hateful military dictatorship in our country supported by the Nixon government and the American militarists.

Go forward! Venceremos!

Seattle. From there, she will travel throughout the West and Southwest, and wind up her tour in early December in the Midwest. Hawkins begins a tour of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and the New England states in late September.

Filing fee victory won in S.F.

By BOB SCHWARZ

SAN FRANCISCO—An important victory was won in San Francisco Sept. 17 in the fight to open up the ballot to candidates other than the very rich and powerful. In a last minute decision, Judge Albert C. Wollenberg, U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, ruled that candidates for municipal office would not have to pay the filing fee to be on the ballot.

The decision came in response to a suit filed by Ed Steinman of the Youth Law Center on behalf of Nat Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, and Mike Wong, co-chairman of the City College Third World Alliance and candidate for supervisor (San Francisco's 11-member city council is called the "Board of Supervisors").

Co-plaintiff in the suit was the student council of City College of San Francisco, representing 18,000 potential voters.

The suit asked for a permanent injunction preventing the registrar of voters from enforcing fees totaling

nearly \$3,500 for offices open in this election. These include mayor, six supervisors, sheriff, and district attorney. The SWP had announced candidates for mayor and six supervisors, fees for which totaled \$2,000.

The fees were raised this year from \$30 to 2 percent of the salary for each office, "to cut the size of the ballot and also to impose a requirement that a candidate show a serious intent," according to the assistant city attorney, Thomas A. Toomey.

Judge Wollenberg's decision makes permanent a temporary restraining order he issued Sept. 14 requiring the registrar to accept any candidate who swore inability to pay the filing fee. Other requirements are 40 signatures, 20 sworn sponsors, and a statement of qualifications. Under the restraining order, Weinstein, Wong and the other SWP candidates for supervisor had three days to file before final decision was handed down. By the time of the filing deadline Sept. 17, 50 candidates had filed, including 11 for mayor. Most paid the filing fees even after the court decision, since they would otherwise have had to swear they could not afford them.

This decision is an important precedent in the attempt to strike down restrictions like filing fees designed to keep ballots small and exclusive. In his decision, Judge Wollenberg cited as a precedent *Jenness vs. Fortson*, the case filed by Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Atlanta in 1970, which struck down a \$2,500 filing fee for governor and U.S. Congress.

Steinman had specifically requested a written decision to provide another precedent against high filing fees. "This is a victory not only for poor people, but for young people just becoming voters who want to run but can't afford the high fees," Steinman said.

Austin mayor to debate SWPer

AUSTIN, Texas—Mayor Roy Butler told *Austin American* staff writer Mary M. Moody that he was willing to debate Mike Alewitz of the Socialist Workers Party after Alewitz challenged the mayor in a Sept. 13 news conference. Alewitz has written to Butler, thanking him for accepting the challenge, and the Austin SWP is looking into arrangements for the event.



Mike Alewitz

Daily Texan photo

Alewitz, an SWP candidate for City Council in the municipal election last spring, challenged Butler at a news conference called by the SWP after the mayor was quoted in the *University of Texas Daily Texan* as saying he did not feel he had been elected "to do favors for the SWP."

The mayor made this remark to the *Daily Texan* when he was asked about his opposition to a request from the YMCA Board of Directors for a variance—a special exemption—in the building code on their offices across the street from the U of T campus. Members of the SWP are active in organizations that use space in the YMCA offices, such as the Student Mobilization Committee. (The City Council subsequently granted the variance.)

Appearing with Alewitz at the Sept. 13 news conference was Mariana Hernandez, who was the SWP candidate for mayor in last spring's election. The two SWP representatives said that when the mayor was contacted and asked what he meant by his statement in the *Daily Texan*, he had indicated that he had seen police reports on the activity of SWP members in the YMCA offices.

At the news conference, Alewitz said there was no question of "favors" for the SWP, but that democratic, constitutional rights were involved. "We disagree with Mayor Butler's opinion that he has the right to suppress our organization because he doesn't agree with it," Alewitz said in challenging Butler to debate.

The news conference was reported on both the evening and late news broadcasts of all three Austin TV stations, as well as on many radio stations and in the *Daily Texan* and *Austin American*.

CoDEL pickets in Worcester

WORCESTER, Mass.—About 25 people participated in the picketing of City Hall here Sept. 14, organized by the newly formed Worcester chapter of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). The picketers were protesting a decision by City Clerk Robert O'Keefe invalidating a ruling by the State of Massachusetts that gave students the option of voting where they go to school, irrespective of where their parents live.

This case has drawn much attention in Worcester due to the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Eric Poulos and Kay Lydon for City Council and Brent Farrand for School Committee. Poulos, Lydon and Farrand are all students and have been prevented from registering to vote in Worcester.

The picket line in front of City Hall was organized as a symbolic protest against the City Council primary elections taking place that day with Poulos and Lydon excluded from the ballot. Among the participants in the protest were students from Clark University, Worcester State College, Boys Trade High School, as well as representatives from the Boston chapter of CoDEL, and SWP candidate for mayor of Boston John Powers and several of his supporters. The picketers carried signs reading, "Let Students Vote in Worcester," "Don't Let O'Keefe Veto the 26th Amendment."

Calendar

ATLANTA

AMERICAN POLITICS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, 1972 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. at the Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. NE (at Poplar St.). Donation: \$1 (50c for high school students). Ausp. Militant Bookstore Forum.

BOSTON

ATTICA REVOLT AND MASSACRE: A symposium on THE NATURE OF THE U.S. PRISON SYSTEM. Panelists: Derrick Morrison, Militant reporter present at Attica; a former prisoner; an attorney active in prison reform; taped interview with a prisoner; and others. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:00 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50 c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CAMBRIDGE

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN FUND RAISING SMORGASBORD. Featured speakers: Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate for U.S. senator against Edward Kennedy, presently a member of the SWP '72 National Presidential Campaign Committee; John E. Powers Jr., recent candidate for mayor of Boston; Jeanne Lafferty, women's liberationist and Cambridge City Council candidate, as well as Matilda Zimmerman, '72 SWP Presidential Campaign Organizer. Sat., Oct. 9, 5 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. Smorgasbord. Entertainment and speakers to follow. Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Mass. Ave., Donation: \$2, students \$1.50. For further information, call 262-9688 or 354-1138.

CHICAGO

CONVICT HANRAHAN FOR MURDER: A panel on the campaign to bring Fred Hampton's and Mark Clark's murderers to justice. James D. Montgomery, atty., and others. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Great Lakes Building, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310. Donation: \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

NIXON, MAO AND VIETNAM. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, member of Coordinating Committee of NPAC. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:30 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), 2nd floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FALL SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. "The Popular Front," third of three classes on the Spanish Civil War by Les Evans, editor of the International Socialist Review. Sun., Oct. 3, 1 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. Fourth St.), 8th floor. 50c per session, \$3.00 for complete series of eight classes. For more information, call 260-0976. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. Fourth St.), 8th Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

PHILADELPHIA

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE STRUGGLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker: Mike Walker. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert (1 block north of Market). Admission: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL ANTIWAR CON-

ERENCE. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. and all day Sat., Oct. 2. San Francisco City College. Sponsored by: Northern California Peace Action Coalition.

TWIN CITIES

SPEECH BY LINDA JENNESS, SWP CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Party afterward. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. NE, Mpls. Donation \$1. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

...PLP

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name-calling.

The Chinese workers and peasants in order to advance the Chinese revolution will be forced to overthrow the Mao bureaucracy. This, however, does not require a social and economic transformation. Rather, it will be a political revolution which will throw out the undemocratic, privileged bureaucratic caste that has usurped power over the Chinese people. The nationalized economy and planned economy already won will not be overturned.

PLP's apparent refusal to defend the gains of the Chinese revolution, puts them in league with such right-wing social democrats as Michael Harrington's Socialist Party. The SP uses its refusal to designate China, the Soviet Union, and Cuba as workers states as an excuse to be silent about or support U.S. imperialism's campaigns against them.

However, it must be remembered, that PLP's adherence to Mao Tsetung Thought had a lot to do with their current analysis of China. It was Mao Tsetung who taught them to brand the Russian bureaucrats as "capitalists," "imperialists," fascists," "worse than Hitler," etc. Mao, in turn, learned this from Stalin, who in 1948 branded Yugoslavia as a capitalist state when it refused to submit totally to the Kremlin. While PLP was still Maoist, it took the criminal positions that Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the Eastern European states, with the exception of Albania, were capitalist.

Thus, when Peking's recent support to the brutal repression of revolutionary forces in Ceylon and Pakistan and its projected meeting with Nixon revealed to PLP what revolutionary socialists had always known—that the Peking and Moscow bureaucrats differed only in style in their attempts to throttle the world revolution—PLP used the same incorrect Mao-taught method and branded China capitalist. PLP has still not indicated whether they think the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and Albania are capitalist, though they attack all three with most of the same terms they use against Russia, China and Cuba.

...inside

Continued from page 10
math of the attack?

Gaiter: Obviously the power structure decided that they could not tolerate insurrection and insubordination by poor, Black and minority people any longer—regardless how many human lives would be lost. They made that decision based on the fact that they had to demonstrate authority and power so this thing would never happen again.

It should be clear to anyone who has common sense, who has the ability to reason, that murder was committed. The inmates had no weapons. They indicated to the prison officials that they did not intend to harm the hostages, that they just wanted to discuss the issues and demands, that if the hostages were harmed it would be through acts of the prison officials and not acts of their own.

The autopsies have proven that to be a fact.

Attica showed that the governor, the president, the men in charge of the lives of hundreds of thousands of people all over New York State are capable, at any moment, of committing cold-blooded murder without blinking an eye and then having the audacity to try and vindicate themselves by lying and subterfuge, by setting up blue-ribbon committees, by doing all the things that in the past have fooled the people, that have led us to the position where we are now.

I think it's pure murder. I think it will happen again unless we make sure that it doesn't by the manner of our protests, demonstrations and actions and by the involvement of the people.

...Attica

Continued from page 13

most without exception, to the social inequities and distortions of human potential and character that are rooted in capitalist society.

The prisons of this country exist for one reason only—to try to terrorize people into accepting an inhuman, irrational social system based on maintaining the rights of the few over the majority. Once capitalism is eliminated, once it is replaced by a system which can abundantly provide for the needs of the many rather than the profits of a tiny handful, once we have eradicated all the distortions of human potential which flow from this inhuman system and the institutions that prop it up, there will be no need

for prisons. The very social system that has created and defined crime will have been eliminated.

But only a revolutionary upheaval powerful enough to take power out of the hands of the Rockefellers and Nixons and place it in the hands of the most oppressed and exploited—the workers, the prisoners, the Black and Brown communities, the women, the draftees—only such a fundamental reorganization of society can bring about the necessary changes. That is the "prison reform" we are ultimately working for.

New York Deputy Commissioner of "Corrections" William Baker told reporters the day of the Attica Massacre that prison riots, like proletarian revolutions, occur in a climate of rising expectations. He might have added, with even greater insight, that the prison revolts merely reflect the growing crisis of the capitalist system in its death agony.

The names of the individuals who struggled and died at Attica and San Quentin and in the other prisons of America, will go down in history alongside the names of men like Malcolm X as heroes of the masses in the coming American revolution.

1,000 honor Jackson in London

By T.J. O'FLAHERTY

LONDON—This city honored the memory of George Jackson in a rally held on Sept. 2 of over 1,000 at the St. Pancras town hall. It was organized jointly by the Friends of Solidarity, the Afro-American Committee, and the Committee for the Defense of Angela Davis.

Winston Pinder, a Black trade unionist, presided. Leila Hassan, representing the Black Unity and Freedom Party, and representatives of the Black Liberation Front and Black Workers Coordinating Committee also spoke.

Anthony Shiel gave an account of George Jackson's life, and David Udok read a funeral oration while slides of scenes of mourners at Jackson's funeral in Illinois were shown. There were a large number of other young Black women and men who followed with brief militant speeches. A message from Angela Davis was read amid acclaim.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o John Beadle, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-2913.
Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-9505. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.
FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.
Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.
Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.
ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.
DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).
INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
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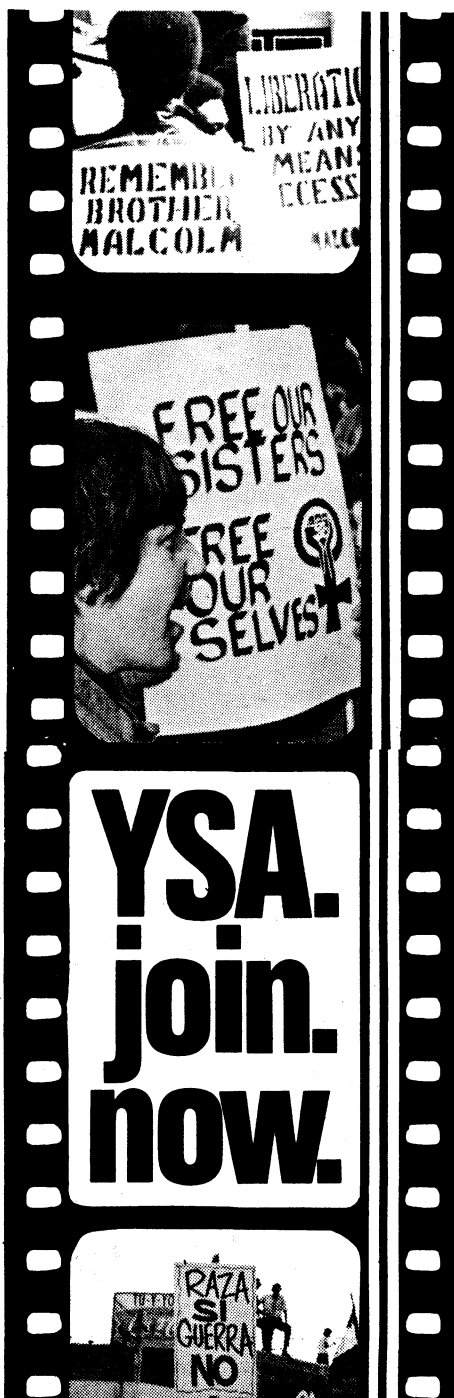
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THE MILITANT

80,000 demand Puerto Rican independence



Photo by Miguel Rivera, Claridad

Sept. 12 march in Puerto Rico

By C. M. TAVEREZ

SAN JUAN, P. R. — The largest and most militant demonstration in the history of Puerto Rico's independence movement took place here Sunday, Sept. 12, to protest the sixty-third annual U.S. governors' conference. The demonstration also commemorated the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, leading Puerto Rican nationalist, who died in 1965 after spending most of his active life in prison for his activities on behalf of independence.

Called and organized by the Movimiento Pro Independencia [MPI—Movement for Independence] and the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño [PIP—Puerto Rican Independence party], the march was so well organized that even the capitalist press recognized its importance. For example, the Puerto Rican daily *El Imparcial* calculated that between 50,000 and 60,000 participated in the march and rally. *El Mundo*, another capitalist daily, put the number at 40,000 to 50,000.

In their speeches at the rally, MPI and PIP leaders estimated that 80,000 to 100,000 participated in the demonstration and that many thousands more were unable to attend because of lack of transportation, although everything possible had been done to bring people to the march from the farthest places on the island. The MPI and PIP tried to provide free transportation for people who could not afford to pay, but the organizations' resources were very limited compared to those of the government.

The Ferré government, for example, rented 100 limousines in the U.S. at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the use of the governors and special conference guests. Shipping the limousines from New York cost the government \$20,013.11, according to a bill of lading of Trans-American Trailer Transport, Inc.

For two weeks prior to the demonstration, the government had conducted a violent campaign of red-baiting against the MPI and PIP, trying to frighten the Puerto Rican people away from the demonstration. In addition to utilizing the press, radio, and television in its campaign of intimidation, one week before the demonstration the government arrested hundreds of *independentistas* for pasting up leaflets inviting people to the march.

When even this failed to stop the *independentistas*, the government organized brigades of government-party youth who, with police backing, covered the demonstration leaflets with paint and pasted up their own "Governors, Welcome to Puerto Rico" signs. This was done mostly around the campuses of the universities and in the commercial districts, where the tourists and guests of the governors might see them.

Support for the march was so widespread that Ferré himself, as a last resort, pleaded with the leaders not to carry slogans or shout "Yanqui Go Home!" According to the governor, such behavior would injure the Puerto Rican tradition of hospitality.

To the surprise of no one, "Yanqui Go Home!" became the main theme of the demonstration. Other popular slogans were "Governors Go Home!" and "Jibaro [peasant] Si! Yanqui No!"

PIP President Rubén Berrios and MPI General Secretary Juan Mari Bras represented their respective organizations on the speakers' platform. Mari Bras pointed out that Puerto Rico was being used once more by the U.S. as the "showcase" of Latin America.

He said that the main reason for holding the governors' conference in Puerto Rico was to plan the optimum use of the island as a political, economic, and military base of counter-revolution in Latin America. As evidence of this, Mari Bras pointed to conference guests such as Galo Plaza, general secretary of the Organization of American States (OAS); Alberto Lleras Camargo, ex-president of Colombia; and Eduardo Frei, Christian-Democrat ex-president of Chile. Mari Bras went on to discuss the continuing battle waged by the MPI to have the United Nations take up the case of Puerto Rico, not because the United Nations is an organization to be trusted but because it could be used as a forum to expose U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico. The MPI also tries to force countries represented at the United Nations to take a stand in favor of Puerto Rico's independence.

Mari Bras made very clear what he meant when he said, "Either they are with us or against us; this way we will know who are our friends and who are our enemies."

This MPI-PIP united-front demonstration was organized as a peaceful

and orderly action, and the tremendous success it achieved showed how deep and widespread the proindependence movement is.

Among the supporters of the demonstration was a contingent of about 200 Dominicans whose message of solidarity said, in part: "We Dominicans living in Puerto Rico for many different reasons are with you today in your struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Puerto Rico's destiny is linked with ours, since we are oppressed by the same imperialist monster, the United States of America. . . . Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo together will win!"

Support also came from a group of Cuban youth, Juventud Cubana Socialista [Cuban Socialist Youth], which put out a special bulletin for the march called "Manifiesto al Pueblo de Puerto Rico" [Manifesto to the People of Puerto Rico].

This group is composed of Cuban young people whose parents took them to the United States in the early 1960s. Today, as a result of their own experiences in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, and from seeing how the Cuban exiles behave—their racism, their desire to make Puerto Rico the Cuba of "old times," their "anticommunism"—these youth now identify with the Cuban revolution, the Latin American revolution, and with the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for self-determination.

"We are Cubans," the manifesto begins, "and we completely reject the arrogant attitude of the Cuban exiles in Puerto Rico. . . . We are Cubans who believe that now, as ever, the destiny of Cuba and Puerto Rico is closely linked. We identify unconditionally with your struggle for national liberation of the Puerto Rican people. . . . We are not Cuban exiles; we are in Puerto Rico for reasons beyond our control. While we are here, we ask you not to consider us as exiles from Cuba, and we ask you to defend us against the attacks we expect from them."

The unity in action of the proindependence forces had a tremendous impact on the Puerto Rican population. This reporter talked to about 200 people after the march, all of whom were optimistic about the struggle for independence. As one said, "This is the best way for the Puerto Rican people to show its dignity."

Soledad Brothers harassed in prison

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO—The trial of the remaining Soledad Brothers, John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo, will be delayed indefinitely while the California Supreme Court reviews a habeas corpus petition filed by defense attorneys Richard Silver and Floyd Silliman. The petition asks for a hearing before the court on the grounds that since the murder of George Jackson Aug. 21 the defendants have been subject to cruel and unusual punishment by the prison guards, not being allowed sufficient time to consult with their attorneys, and that San Quentin authorities denied them access to the courts for a pretrial hearing Aug. 23.

On Sept. 16, John Thorne, who was Jackson's attorney, released a handwritten affidavit signed by the inmates of the Adjustment Center, who now refer to themselves as the "George Jackson Brigade," demanding that they be

transferred to federal prisons in order to avoid the persistent beatings that have placed their lives in jeopardy in the California prison system. The affidavit reiterated the prisoners' claims that California prison authorities conspired to execute George Jackson. Additionally, Thorne released a deposition taken from white inmate Allan Mancino in which Mancino maintains that while Jackson and he were in the "O" wing of the Soledad State prison in late January 1970, captain of the guards Charles Moody "asked me directly if I would kill George Jackson. He said he did not want another El-dridge Cleaver."

Mancino "refused to join in this plot" and was summarily transferred from Soledad. Ironically, Mancino was in the adjustment center on Aug. 21 and was allegedly shot during the "fracas." However, Mancino disappeared in the week following the Aug. 21 massacre

and prison authorities hinted that since Mancino was ready to testify for the state about the events of Aug. 21, it was necessary to take him into "protective custody" to ensure his safety from other inmates. Now it appears that Mancino was removed to a Nevada state prison in Carson City, where he waits, incognito, for his wounds to heal.

Relentless efforts by prison authorities to place the blame for the Aug. 21 shoot-out on a nefarious conspiracy were given a boost by Marin County Superior Judge Joseph G. Wilson. He refused to halt grand jury hearings directed at Adjustment Center inmates Hugo Pinnel, Larry Spain, and attorney Steven Bingham, whom the authorities accuse of having brought Jackson an eight-and-a-half inch gun inside a portable tape recorder just prior to Jackson's murder.